

THE

M Wolfe

CHINESE SPY;

OR,

EMISSARY from the Court of
P E K I N,

Commissioned to examine into

THE PRESENT STATE OF EUROPE.

Translated from the CHINESE.

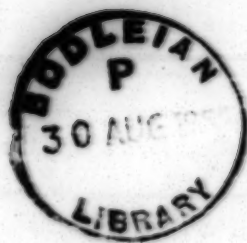
IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

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THE CHINESE SPY.

LETTER I.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Peking.

London.

THE French plenipotentiary who is to put an end to all the disturbances in Europe, is come; but one would think he was not sure of his point, or that it was a doubt with him whether what he brought would be glad tidings to the nation; for so far from making any show or noise, as usual in them who come to do a people a good turn, he stole into London in the night time, and silently slunk to his quarters. This minister has already been tried in several weighty negotiations, where he always came off with great honour; and indeed a novice in politics would, by no means, do here.

This plenipotentiary has gone through his course of interests of princes at Rome; a court where the most vivacious passions shroud themselves under patience, reserve and moderation, which are likewise the surest means for attaining the highest views of ambition. It is such a man only who can be a match for this court, to face the haughtiness of the ministers, the pride of

the nobility, and the outrageous rudeness of the commonalty.

The great work of the peace is however thought to be finally concluded; and this minister is only to plane down a few inequalities, which project a little above the level of politics. I cannot tell thee much of him, having no personal acquaintance with him; I have only heard that he has perused a great many books, visited a great many women, and herded much with ecclesiastics.

LETTER II.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

IN France I wrote to thee about a particular society of bonzes there, called Jesuits, who, at their separation from the world, make a vow of ambition, and ingraft their loftiness and arrogance on christian meekness and self-denial. The parliament of Paris is come to a resolution of banishing them out of the kingdom for ever. No mention is yet made of the reasons which have moved that court to inflict on such persons a punishment, which, in this kingdom, is usually the lot of vagabonds, banditti, or wretches who can give no account of themselves. This tribunal herein appears to me too severe, or not sufficiently so; for if these bonzes are guilty of high treason, as many charge them with it, to expel them from society is not enough; if ambition be all their crime, exile is too much, since, in the latter case, all the different orders of the monarchy should be suppressed, as moving to the same end through bye-ways.

The French government in most of its deliberations is too late, and would cure the disease when it is got beyond all remedy.

The cause of the extirpation of these bonzes should have been laid before the tribunal of all christendom, instead of only that of Paris; all the sovereigns should have at once agreed to extirpate them; for what signify

fy these particular ejections of the members of this body, but to make it the more dangerous? France lies amidst catholic countries, who will harbour these exiles: here they will shelter themselves against the persecutions of that crown; and the consequence will be, either that they will practice their wickedness, being out of the reach of punishment, or they will patiently wait till a weak reign shall favour their restoration; and such a triumph will increase their arrogance and ambition.

These bonzes leave behind them a party, which will be continually pleading their cause, and intriguing for their return; it will lay hold of the first blind and superstitious prince, with whom they may easily compass their favourite point. This is not the first time that France has rid itself of this society; but some scions having been left, the jesuitical stem has always shot up again, blossomed, and spread its branches wide. In short, exiling and recalling this society have only served to make it more haughty and assuming.

An Italian politician used to say, that, if princes were to be touched, it should be only their head; and it is only in their bodies that religious orders should be attacked.

These bonzes, in the manner of their departure, pave the way for their revocation, receiving their sentence with the most placid resignation, first raising up their looks to heaven, as imploring justice for such an injury, then with down-cast eyes submitting to the yoke. Never vanity stooped so low. Such is the disinterestedness of these good fathers, that it is not the loss of their riches which affects them, they only lament the souls that they are thus forced to abandon; and amidst all their obedience, they have so good an opinion of themselves, that, from this very time, they look upon France as a country given up to heresy.

Their condition is pitied, and their obedience affects the people to the very soul. The universal hatred of them is turned into compassion. The extirpation of them is, as it were, a tothing for their re-establish-

ment; their humiliation will turn to their honour, and by their very defeat they will be gainers: nay, their ambition may become necessary; for in some European monarchies there are such vices. I do not say but France may do without these bonzes; yet is it my opinion, that to draw from their extirpation all the advantages in view, many alterations analogous to this exile should have been made; but of these the parliament of Paris has not the least conception. It is a misfortune, and a very great misfortune to France, that this supreme court will be often intermeddling with state affairs, without a single ray of political knowledge, it blunders on in its notions without looking before or behind. Another common fault in it is, not to support its ordinances: its decrees are mostly detached, and thus generally prove of little effect.

The utter extirpation of these bonzes, whose power in France was thought to be without any bounds, and now abolished and ejected without the least clamour or commotion, lays open a great fault in the constitution; which is, that the French government has attained to the very height of despotism, there being now no body or society in the kingdom, whether political, civil, or ecclesiastical, which can counterpoise its caprices, or make a stand against the will of the prince, or so much as that of the upper courts.

LETTER III.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Cotao-yu-le, at Peking.

London.

I Have before mentioned the seriousness and gloom of this nation in every thing, even its pleasures and diversions; I shall now give you a word about the state of sociability, as the image of that disposition.

It is not from chance or casualty that a people is dull and melancholy; there is ever a first cause, which gives them that ply: the source of English seriousness
lies

lies deep ; perhaps it must be looked for in the origin of their political constitution.

Charles, king of England, a gay, merry prince, finding this people without intercourse, so as to be almost separated from itself, was for bringing them together, and making them more sociable. Accordingly the theatres were opened again ; every city and town had its assembly, and the nation was set a dancing together : but the sound of fiddles only gave it a less gloomy appearance, without making it more sprightly.

Since Charles's time the spectacles and diversions have proceeded on the same plan, but with as little success.

A certain turn of petty second causes have in this century socialised them a little. Were it not for an herb infused in water, which twice a day brings the English together at a table, they would meet the seldomer. Tea connects society, and makes the Britons not to live so much apart.

Not that there is no company in England, but this company is not companionable. Here is little or nothing of that connection of mind and heart which is the essence of real acquaintance : they visit one another as elsewhere, but it is coldly and indolently.

The English intercourse is serious and heavy to the last degree ; they say talking spoils conversation, and very careful are they not to fall into this supposed fault.

A nation, which by constitution is led to sociality, may do very well in a large capital ; but that, where every one is shunning another, should live in small towns.

I cannot for my life conceive why a city has been built in England, which contains almost the whole nation ; this, I think, could suit only a people whose natural gaiety inclined them to lodge together.

That there should be a Paris is nothing strange, but I am quite amazed that there should be a London.

It was not worth while building a huge city for every inhabitant to be a stranger in it. Most of the Eng-

lish, by living in the midst of London, as it were go out of the world ; one hears no more of them than if they were in the furthestmost part of the East-Indies.

I have been shown a wealthy Londoner, and I could name many such, who for forty years past has risen at six, at seven smokes two pipes of tobacco, at eight drinks four dishes of tea, walks in his garden till one in the afternoon, at two eats his roast beef, drinks two pots of strong beer at three, at four swallows three bottles of port, at five gorges himself a second time with tea, at six t'other couple of pipes, and constantly passes the remainder of the evening in fuddling.

A calculation has already been made of what this worthy citizen will have done for the numerous family of London, of which he has been a member these sixty years.

He will have smoked sixty-four thousand seven hundred pipes of tobacco, he will have drunk one hundred twenty-nine thousand four hundred dishes of tea, will have eaten thirty-two thousand eight hundred and fifty pounds of beef, will have guzzled forty thousand nine hundred and fifty quarts of beer, and have swallowed seventy seven thousand six hundred and twenty, five bottles of wine. What a loss to society will the death of such a sociable person be !

LETTER IV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Pekin.

London.

WAR has introduced here a kind of game of chance, where the citizens every day venture a great part of their substance. The scene is at Jonathan's Coffee-House, and the stock of the game the national debt, which is bought and sold again continually. The nation may be said here to play for itself. Sometimes the government falls 65, at other times shall mount to 90.

The

The war it seems has not sufficiently impoverished the nation, for here are multitudes of private persons bustling in the ready way to make bad worse.

The news concerning the hopes of a peace, or the moral probability of the war's continuing, give the turn to this game. The arrival of a courier shall give the players a good hand, and the departure of another quash all their hopes.

Curiosity, yesterday, led me into this political gaming-house, where the stock-jobbing gamblers are continually buying and selling the monarchy. Believe me, the eagerness staring in their faces is beyond any words to express; their features are distorted with all the passions accompanying ambition and avarice: that painter, who would give a striking representation of avidity and insatiable thirst of gain, may here find the best original for his purpose in the whole world. This same Jonathan's Coffee-House, like all other gaming-meetings, has its knaves: the most considerable of these are a-b-d-rs, who, being in the secrets of crowns, play on sure grounds; that is, they know when to buy and sell in the right time.

Some political arithmeticians have calculated that the national debts have been bought and sold a million of times since they were first contracted; it is a trade which has sprung from the ruin of all other trades; the stock-jobbers will game till peace shall have put an end to hopes and fears: still a gaming humour, irreconcilable with the public tranquillity, will remain; and of course the gamblers will rejoice at a fresh war; for the chief good, with the bulk of men, is the gratification of their passions.

LETTER V.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Cotao-yu-se, at Pekin.

London.

THERE is a people in Europe who devote themselves to make others merry; their trade is to

ing and play on the fiddle. Literature it leaves to others, valuing itself only on its skill in sounds ; this is its profession. The inhabitants of that country are born musicians, and never give over singing till death silences them. They are to be found in the capital cities in Europe, where, without any other talent than *il buon gusto*, they live splendidly. This people are called Italians.

Most of them are geglings ; such is their attachment to music, as to sacrifice their dearest part to it ; they emasculate themselves in notes, and bury their progeny in ariettes.

They are not so well received here as in other places ; with all their *buon gusto* the French take on them to despise their music ; but here it has its sticklers, who are continually praising it, as infinitely above that of the nation.

I was lately invited to a vocal concert of one of these Italian *virtuosi*, whose melodious voice is a loss to posterity. As I condemn all artifice whatever, and think nothing fine which is unnatural, I was not greatly entertained with this music, and my disgust encreased as the applauses grew louder ; so that the beauties of this harmony, after a succession of oscitations, threw me into a sound sleep, not awaking till the pathos of the ariettes was over. I may perhaps, in a future letter, give thee some account of the dispute between this and the French music.

LETTER VI

The same, to the same, at Pekin.

London.

THE more I consider the morals of the people with whom I now am, the less I like them. A crime, of which we have not so much as any idea in China, is here very common ; I mean the infamy thrown on marriage.

Walking, yesterday, in the park with my good-natured baronet ; we saw, coming towards us, a young lady

lady of a very showy appearance, and followed by two footmen. I thought that, as she passed by us, she had watched my friend's eyes to drop a curt'sy to him, and that he designedly had turned his head another way.

When she was at some distance from us, I asked the baronet who that lady was whom he did not care to salute. She is, said he, a creature who but a few weeks ago used to pick up men in the streets, but last week one of our English gentlemen married her. You seem to wonder at this, continued he, perceiving in me an emotion of surprise; but at London nothing is more common. The French, added he, will make the vilest prostitutes their mistresses; but the Britons run greater lengths, they make them their wives.

Our brothels, continued he, are become a kind of seminaries for wives; I could shew you in this capital a great many, who, from these loathsome sinks of debauchery, have stepped into the nuptial bed.

In other parts whores are no more than whores; but here they become wives, beginning with many men, and afterwards giving themselves up to one. Do not imagine, continued he, that this is a vice to be seen only among the scum of the people; I assure you, persons whose birth and education naturally promised better, have given into this infamous turpitude.

Why this, said I interrupting him, is sanctifying debauchery, and prophaning holy things; it is calling heaven to be a witness of prostitution. I cannot conceive, continued he, what inticement there can be (to use the expression as filthy as the thing) to fill one's bed with dung, and thus indelibly defile one's posterity.

Why, said he, these marriages are generally made without reason's knowing any thing of the matter; though instances are not wanting of those who have deliberately engaged in this worst of follies. They fancy that taking these wretches from the depth of indigence and guilt lays them under an infinite obligation, that gratitude will produce affection and fidelity: but here they are out; a woman never esteems a man who has

so far debased himself, as to commit an action so shameful and mean-spirited.

LETTER VII.

*The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na,
at Pekin.*

London.

IN Europe every one sets up for a politician ; whether princes are fighting or have given over fighting, there is always some privy counsellor who declares his opinion ; but generally his reflections come too late.

The peace had already been concluded, when the Monitor, whose remarks I now send you, pointed out the terms on which it should have been made.

The tendency of his reasoning is, to prove that there can be no constant union between France and England ; and to demonstrate this, the author recurs to the primary causes of this division. It is drawn up by way of petition to the agents of the two crowns.

“ A most humble remonstrance, inscribed to the plenipotentiaries of France and England.”

“ May it please your excellencies,

“ The kings your masters have sent you to the courts of St. James’s and Versailles, to put an end to that war which distresses both nations ; a noble negotiation ! what is more glorious than being the instruments of universal happiness ?

“ For the better succeeding in this praise-worthy design, you have associated to yourselves men of talents, and acquainted with the cabinets of all Europe.

“ You yourselves are very capable ministers ; you know the temper of the people, and the interests of the crowns with whom you treat. Since your ar-

“ rival

“ rival in the two capitals you have been incessantly
“ busy ; you have had audiences, you have regulated
“ meetings, settled conferences, drawn up writings,
“ removed difficulties, received expresses, dispatched
“ couriers, &c. &c. In a word, you have brought
“ the monarchs, whose agents you are, to sign preli-
“ minaries. At this, they, from these preliminaries
“ conclude the peace as good as finished, have cried out
“ with rapture, *Nothing could be better ! what great*
“ *men these two must be ! This is doing business.*

“ But your excellencies labour is not yet over : be-
“ lieve me, that from these preliminaries and the con-
“ secutive treaty, to the fixing a permanent peace be-
“ tween the two crowns, there is a distance (the calcu-
“ lation is known) of exactly two thousand square
“ political leagues.

“ Without setting up to be a prophet in negotiations,
“ the case will be this ; there will be public rejoicings
“ and fire-works, a solemn thanksgiving ; we shall
“ hear no more of sieges and battles ; the armies
“ will be ordered home and reduced ; there will be
“ quiet and joy on both sides ; and five or six years
“ after, the war will break out afresh.

“ It is a great question at present, whether this be a
“ time for a system of pacification between France and
“ England ; I mean, whether after such a repetition
“ of sieges and battles, war is not become the natural
“ state of these two powers, and whether the very
“ treaties of peace are not a source of troubles and
“ disturbances. At least, of all political undertak-
“ ings, it is the most knotty ; as not only general in-
“ terests are to be reconciled, but private passions to
“ be obliterated ; and these are ever more difficult to
“ be got over than the claims of crowns ; for your ex-
“ cellencies should know, that there is ill blood in the
“ veins of both nations. This series of internecine
“ wars from generation to generation ; these fights by
“ sea and battles by land, so often renewed ; these
“ heaps of slain calling on their posterity for re-
“ venge ; the natural antipathy fomented and increased
“ by so many military massacres, cannot be effaced
“ by

“ by the signing of any number of articles. Two na-
 “ tions alienated from each other by some short wars
 “ may be easily reconciled; but how to inspire con-
 “ ciliatory sentiments into such whose animosity has
 “ been increasing by wars continued through ages,
 “ with only short and imperfect intervals of a patched-
 “ up tranquillity? there is no closing so many wounds,
 “ but the scar will remain.

“ The enmity between the Roman and Carthaginian
 “ republics admitted of no expedient; all the nego-
 “ ciations and treaties of peace only the more inflamed
 “ both, till the excision of the latter, at which all the
 “ rage and animosity of the former subsided. This per-
 “ haps is a compendium of the political history of the
 “ two nations.

“ The preceding plenipotentiaries at the two courts,
 “ for above a century past, were like yourselves, per-
 “ sonages of great parts, and who indefatigably la-
 “ boured to fix a pacification between the two nations;
 “ but the work was no sooner finished than it fell to
 “ pieces.

“ I could here lay before you a multitude of trea-
 “ ties of peace concluded between the two crowns in
 “ different times and places, and wherein all imagin-
 “ able precautions were taken to prevent a rupture;
 “ yet has not one of them been of any convenience:
 “ but I shall only quote that of Aix-la-Chapelle,
 “ transacted under our eyes, in which it was po-
 “ sitively agreed, that there should be no more
 “ war.

“ The two powers, your excellencies know, ex-
 “ press themselves in it as follows.

“ Know all whom it shall or may in any wise con-
 “ cern:

“ Europe with joy sees the approach of the day
 “ destined by providence for the restoration of its
 “ tranquillity. A general peace supercedes the long
 “ and bloody war which had risen between the most
 “ serene and most mighty prince George II. by the
 “ grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ire-
 “ land, and the most serene and most mighty prince
 “ Lewis:

Lewis XV. by the grace of God, the very christian king.

"God, in his mercy, has made known to those powers the way by which he would have them to be reconciled, and restore tranquillity to the people whom he has put under their government. They have sent their plenipotentiary ministers to Aix-la-Chapelle, where the preliminaries of a general peace being agreed on, in order, at the same place of Aix-la-Chapelle, to complete the great work of a solid and lasting peace, the high contracting parties have nominated, deputed, and furnished with all proper powers, as their ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, the most noble and illustrious lords, John Earl of Sandwich for his Britannic majesty, and for the most christian king, the Count St. Severin d'Arragon.

"Article I. There shall be a perpetual and universal peace both by sea and land, and a constant friendship between the two powers, and their heirs and successors, kingdoms, states provinces, countries, subjects and vassals, of whatever quality or condition they may be, without exception of place or person, so that the contracting parties shall reciprocally use their utmost care and attention to maintain, between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, such mutual friendship and correspondence, without permitting, that, on either side, any hostility be committed for any cause, or on any pretence whatever; likewise abstaining from henceforth from whatever may disturb the happy union restored between them: on the contrary, they shall be mindful, on all occasions, to countenance whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interest and advantage; giving no assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any damage to either of the contracting parties.

"II. There shall be a general oblivion of every thing done or committed during the war now ended; and every one shall, on the day of exchange of the ratifications of the parties, be preserved or again put in possession of all his lands, incomes, and honours,
which

which he enjoyed, or should have enjoyed, at the beginning of the war, notwithstanding any seizures and confiscations of possessions, occasioned by the said war.

“ Nothing can be more precise and explicit than the terms of this treaty: it was impossible to mistake the meaning of any one sentence; yet was not one article observed. The names of Sandwich and St. Severin were scarce dry, when the peace was broke, and the two nations fell to fighting with more fury than ever. Indeed they do not stand in need of any cause to go to war; a pretence will do, and the first that offers is always closed with.

“ In the conferences held at Paris and London, about the limits of Canada, it was agreed on both sides to refer that point to commissaries; and a very wise agreement it was: but those folks were found to be very slow in their proceedings, and the two nations being in a hurry to fight, artillery has been substituted in their stead. This indeed is a speedier way of measuring limits than that of commissaries; and to the shame of conventions, that country, where it had been agreed to have only arbitrators, soon became the scene of battles; the two nations had deeply engaged in hostilities, before it came into their mind that they had recently signed a treaty, by which those acts were forbidden in the strongest terms.

“ Antiently war was never renewed till after a formal dissolution of the ties which formed the general tranquillity: treaties of peace were sacred; it was the very part of public right which princes observed the most religiously: they published manifestoes, and set forth at large their motives for having recourse to arms. This was something tedious: accordingly the English and French have found out a more expeditious way; they wage war in time of peace; five or six armies are destroyed before they think fit to publish, on a bit of paper, the reasons for so doing: they begin with slaughtering, and afterwards plead the cause of the slain. The politics
“ of

“ of some courts may be compared to modern physic,
“ which kills by way of preamble, and afterwards
“ assigns the causes of the patient's death.

“ Treaties have been making these eight hundred
“ years past, and as many hundred years have they
“ been broke as soon as made. Nations are always
“ negotiating, yet incessantly fighting.

“ Treaties of peace may be accounted the romances
“ of modern policy: it is all fairy land; they con-
“ tain only words: exemptions, exceptions, restric-
“ tions, totally annul them, so that the parchment on
“ which they are written, may be said to be the only
“ real and substantial thing in them.

“ The history of the breaches of treaties of peace,
“ would make a very interesting article in the history
“ of European politics.

“ It would be superfluous to represent to your ex-
“ cellencies the vicissitudes of the two nations, and
“ the misfortunes into which Europe has been plung-
“ ed by these wars; no-body understands these things
“ better: I shall therefore only say, that since the in-
“ stitution of societies, never has the like been seen in
“ any part of the world. All the nations of the con-
“ tinent have been desolated; that part of the globe
“ which we live in is become a mere desert. Europe,
“ taken in the whole, is by fifty times less peopled
“ than it was in the time of antient Gaul. It will
“ perhaps be objected, that the wars of the Romans
“ were longer and more sanguinary than ours; but
“ that great people had means of population which
“ we have not. Though Rome, by continual sieges
“ and battles, demolished the world on one side, it
“ shored it up on the other; whereas we are always
“ pulling down without any repairs: the subjects
“ perishing in war are lost to the universal common-
“ wealth without recovery. Our governments, if I
“ may use the expression, have no expedients for re-
“ surrection; our dead never return again; and for
“ this reason, that there is not a free nation on the
“ earth, but all are swallowed up by a tyrannic des-
“ potism. The wars of Europe spring from the am-
“ bition

“ bition of kings ; it is for a person, and not for a
“ thing, that nations cut each other’s throats.

“ To reassume the divisions between France and Eng-
“ land, there is a primary cause of the inveteracy be-
“ tween them.

“ Will your excellencies indulge me in a short sketch
“ of the political history of the two governments ? it
“ may perhaps afford some points of view which have
“ hitherto escaped the annalists. It were to be wished
“ that this picture were always before the eyes of those
“ who are to negotiate with the two crowns ; they
“ then would not entertain a conceit that the work of
“ ten centuries could be annihilated by a few short
“ conferences. Besides, this abridgment is necessary,
“ as throwing a light on these reflections ; it is nothing
“ less than the journal of the ambition of the two
“ crowns, ever since the extinction of the emperors :
“ it turns not so much on the chronology of time, as
“ on events. The retrospect is carried pretty far back ;
“ yet shall not the narrative be the longer for that ; it
“ will be but a minute’s work.

“ The Romans, after subduing all nations, being
“ destroyed in their turn, the world had a little breath-
“ ing time : a general agitation, which had lasted so
“ many ages, produced an universal insensibility. The
“ monarchies of France and England were among those
“ who continued a long time under this supineness. If
“ Great-Britain shook off one foreign master, it was
“ by the help of another, whose yoke proved no less
“ shameful and oppressive. King Alfred was the first
“ who conceived the thought, that the English might
“ be brought to have some ambition ; and that this
“ was no bad thought, the subsequent history of our
“ political world has abundantly shewn. He set them
“ to learn to read and write, sent for schoolmasters
“ from Italy to teach them Latin, and erected a uni-
“ versity. Previously to a political revolution, the
“ sagacious monarch excited a mental one ; and this,
“ perhaps, may be reckoned the epocha of the Britons
“ concerning themselves in the transactions of Europe ;
“ ambition being generally a consequence of extensive
“ know-

“ knowledge and capacity. This island, which had
“ hitherto been but very imperfectly known, Alfred
“ put on a pretty good footing ; yet still was England
“ very far from being a powerful state, nor even a
“ match for the first foreign prince who would be for
“ subduing it.

“ William duke of Normandy, who conquered it,
“ gave a form to what Alfred had only sketched ; and,
“ from that time, the English began to make some little
“ figure in Europe.

“ All this time France was scarce any thing ; Charle-
“ magne, who had designed to restore the Roman em-
“ pire, was become too strong for his successors not to
“ be very weak : it is almost an axiom in politics, that
“ a power, whose elevation is sudden, as suddenly falls
“ to ruin.

“ This monarchy, at that time much smaller than at
“ present, but always larger than England, had neither
“ system nor form of government : the crown was
“ without strength, and its kings were looked on as
“ magistrates without power. The peasantry were the
“ military strength of the kingdom ; on them lay the
“ stress of wars, which thus thinned the state without
“ enlarging the domain.

“ Under the reign of Hugh Capet, several titles
“ and lordships escheated to the crown ; and here it
“ was foreseen that France might one day become a
“ considerable power. Both monarchies advanced in
“ grandeur, though slowly ; the English especially were
“ only laying the first foundations of their power.

“ A people turbulent by constitution, and deriving
“ an humourful temper from their climate, who are
“ continually examining themselves, and of course hit
“ on their sore places, want only a first motion. Ever
“ since William, this people has always been carrying
“ on its drifts without stopping by the way.

“ France also had its plans of aggrandisement ; and
“ the ambition of those two people clashing, they came
“ to blows, wherein the French were beaten.

“ Philip I. who then filled the throne, was obliged
“ to purchase a peace by the cession of part of his
“ country

“ country to the English; and it is this concession from
 “ France, which may be considered as the foundation
 “ of that irreconcilable variance between the two
 “ nations.

“ Henry II. of England, had married a woman whom
 “ Lewis the younger, of France, had repudiated on
 “ account of her gallantries; but he gave Guienne and
 “ Poitou to Great Britain; for even then was every
 “ thing sacrificed to ambition. Henry thought two
 “ provinces a full equivalent to the shame.

“ Lewis king of France, now called saint, would
 “ have aggrandised this crown, if, amidst his close at-
 “ tention to the things of heaven, he had not too
 “ much neglected earthly concerns: in his time religion
 “ swallowed up all politics: he carried his subjects to
 “ perish miserably in croisades, which added nothing
 “ to the glory of God, and proved fatal to his repu-
 “ tation, and likewise to his person: he bid fair to
 “ have driven the English out of the kingdom, had he
 “ not been for driving the Turks out of their own
 “ country. In reading the history of former times, one
 “ cannot but pity nations governed in such a manner.
 “ St. Lewis made a breach in the French monarchy,
 “ which is not yet repaired.

“ In England, Edward I. had his hands full: the
 “ most important business to him was to bridle the
 “ temper of the English, for the kings of England
 “ were already beginning to lord it over their people:
 “ he laid the first foundations of that traffic which
 “ which was one day to be the basis of the monarchy’s
 “ grandeur. Political power in the mean time declin-
 “ ed, and Great-Britain was obliged to relinquish Anjou
 “ and Touraine.

“ Under the following reign, all projects of am-
 “ bition and grandeur were suspended; but under
 “ Edward III. England vigorously bent itself to the
 “ prosecution of its designs: yet did this prince out-run
 “ the nation’s ambition; he was for making himself
 “ master of France only by a challenge; he offered the
 “ king of France to stake crowns to him who should
 “ first draw blood of the other, and thus terminate
 “ national

“ national affairs by a single combat ; so true it is, that
 “ great princes are very often no more than great
 “ *Drawcanfers* : but being disappointed of fighting by
 “ himself, he ordered his nation to arms, and gained
 “ the battle of *Cressy*. This victory a second time let
 “ the English into France ; the sea now no longer sepa-
 “ rated the two states, and Calais became a frontier-
 “ place of Great-Britain.

“ Whilst France and England were weakening each
 “ other in these wars, the hearts of both nations pro-
 “ portionably swelled with a greater thirst of superi-
 “ ority ; so that battles, however diminishing their
 “ power, kept their ambition at an equipoise. France,
 “ for a few minutes, beheld the crown of England at
 “ its feet. That same Edward, who had been so eager
 “ for disputing it sword in hand, did homage to her
 “ for it ; but this vassal was too powerful, and, drop-
 “ ping that ignominious appellation, assumed the title
 “ of king of France and asserted it in a war ; for already
 “ nations began to fight for words : several additional
 “ provinces of Europe came under the dominion of
 “ Great-Britain, whose weakness still kept pace with
 “ such aggrandisements.

“ The Black Prince gained the battle of Poitiers,
 “ where the king of France was taken prisoner. This
 “ event, which gave rise to the civil wars, might have
 “ brought France under a perpetual dependance on
 “ England ; but ambition does not always all it should,
 “ and, still less, all it can.

“ It is observable that England was a greater gainer
 “ by the ransom of a prisoner than by many victories ;
 “ a multitude of provinces being again ceded to Great-
 “ Britain, in exchange for the king, who was confined
 “ in the Savoy. France was sinking into universal
 “ debility, when, by one single man, all was saved :
 “ Bertrand du Guesclin retrieved the monarchy ; and
 “ he is not the only instance, in our political world,
 “ of a private person replacing crowns on an equal
 “ footing.

“ The minority of Richard II. in England, and
 “ Charles VI. in France, occasioned, for some time, a
 “ total suspension of all views of power ; intestine va-
 “ riances

“ riances leaving them neither time nor inclination to
“ think of greatness.

“ If, at this critical juncture, ambition had prompt-
“ ed any of the neighbouring nations to avail them-
“ selves of these circumstances, the two monarchies
“ had been undone; and, from the turn given by this
“ to the situation of affairs, the face of Europe would
“ have been quite different from what it is now.

“ The populace of England, ever lawless and out-
“ rageous, laid hold of the principal persons of the
“ state, and put them to death for no other purpose
“ than the plunder of their riches; a proof that this
“ government (amidst all its plans of aggrandisement)
“ had no proper coercions for keeping within just
“ limits the civil power, which should always be a basis
“ to the political.

“ Whilst the commonalty were murdering the gran-
“ dees, the parliament was deposing the king; and it
“ deprived him of his crown as easily, as turning a
“ private person out of a civil employment.

“ During the reign of Henry IV. affairs received
“ little amendment in England, and France did not
“ heal its domestic troubles. Both the monarchies
“ were wholly occupied in refitting themselves. Ano-
“ ther misfortune for the latter was, its king being
“ seized with a frenzy; and, as if the distemper were
“ contagious, most of the great men became mad, in-
“ humanly murdering and tearing one another to
“ pieces: the delirium got into the courts of justice;
“ the legality of murder and assassinations was openly
“ maintained; even an ecclesiastical doctor wrote a
“ schismatical vindication of murder, and supported
“ his ratiocinations with the gospel: extravagances,
“ than which the human mind is scarce susceptible of
“ greater.

“ England, having hastily settled its domestic affairs,
“ prepared to take advantage of circumstances: a more
“ favourable opportunity it could not have; its rival
“ was quite spent, and still harassed by factions.

“ She won the battle of Agincourt, which put all
“ France into mourning; and the sable throne of this
“ monarchy

“ monarchy had unquestionably received an irreco-
“ verable fall, did heroes, who know how to conquer,
“ equally know how to improve their victories;
“ whereas the gain of this important battle did not add
“ the least strength to England; all it got was great
“ glory: a domestic revolution completed what arms
“ had begun.

“ A British king ascends the throne of France by
“ marriage: thus here are the two nations connected,
“ yet still enemies, as if nothing could reconcile the
“ English and French, not even the union of the two
“ crowns. It seems, nothing under magic could free
“ the monarchy from this foreign servitude: a servant-
“ girl, without any other appellation than that of
“ maid, atchieves what great armies had failed in: by
“ her order Charles VII. is crowned, and a common
“ tavern-girl makes all the power of England to give
“ way. Scarce can the history of the two nations be
“ accounted for; reason and policy are every where
“ baffled by fable and the marvellous.

“ The English are driven out of France, with only
“ one door remaining to them to come in again.

“ It seems as if France waited only for the evacua-
“ tion of the English to refit itself. It had been torn in
“ pieces by domestic dissensions; but now Charles cast
“ the system anew, and by a strict reformation of
“ abuses re-established the civil order, which, as we
“ have said, is the basis of political power. Lewis XI.
“ may be said to have settled absolute despotism in
“ France, and thereby introduced that weakness, by
“ which it was reduced to a level with an island, which,
“ with scarce half its number of people, has, for
“ several centuries successively, proved a match for it.
“ This absolute king it was who brought the two
“ powers to a ballance.

“ Edward the Fourth's reign was of no long con-
“ tinuance; it only gave him time to shew his lust and
“ cruelty, two contradictory passions, and seldom seen
“ in the same person.

“ Richard, his brother, was a monster in body and
“ mind from his birth. In other princes cruelty is
“ the

“ the effect of revenge, or the prevalence of violent
 “ passions ; this wretch was coolly cruel : he seized
 “ on the crown without the least right to it, and the
 “ lawful heir to the throne he caused to be murdered
 “ in the tower of London ; but was the nation which
 “ could suffer such a murder, less inhuman than Richard,
 “ the perpetrator ? for the English having already taken
 “ on themselves to dethrone their kings, how could
 “ they tamely see the crown on such a head ?

“ The reign of this tyrant was taken up with his own
 “ private ambition: his unnatural cruelties, and the
 “ national pusillanimity in bearing with them, were a
 “ great blot to the kingdom. Richard died sword in
 “ hand in the field of battle ; too honourable a death
 “ for a caitiff who owed his support to murders.

“ Thus Great-Britain was very much behind-hand
 “ in its designs ; its power having, for some time, been
 “ without any support: most of Edward the Third’s
 “ institutions had been lost amidst the intestine confusi-
 “ ons. The monarchy stood in need of being shored
 “ up again, and new means were to be struck out for
 “ its farther extension: the English never lost sight of
 “ their proposed greatness ; even when totally unable
 “ to accomplish it, still they prosecuted their darling
 “ project.

“ The reign which followed that of the tyrant, was
 “ the reign of good laws, order and œconomy, which
 “ has ever been the chief political virtue of govern-
 “ ments ; and thus the nation again saw itself capable
 “ of forming great designs.

“ The power of France was only precarious, being
 “ sometimes at a low ebb, and sometimes recovering
 “ its vigour under a wise and good prince.

“ The epocha of French greatness may, in some
 “ measure, I believe, be placed in the time of Francis .
 “ I. not that under his reign the monarchy attained to
 “ that elevation in which it has been since seen, but his
 “ successors have only arranged a chaos of political
 “ powers, which was of his creation.

“ I believe, my lords, that it was in the time of
 “ this monarch, that the two nations formed their re-
 “ spective

“pective plan of aggrandisement ; the system of one
“was the dominion of the sea ; and of the other, the
“sovereignty of the continent. Perhaps these two
“nations themselves were then not aware of it, there
“being ambitious projects which are not seen into till
“after execution.

“These two nations seemed to be founding their
“power, as it were, unknown to each other. Great-
“Britain insensibly formed a navy, and settled all the
“measures for keeping it up without France’s perceiv-
“ing it, or seeming to perceive it ; and France got
“together powerful land-armies, as little observed by
“the English.

“The French and English, by their continual wars
“together, had contracted a martial and aspiring spirit ;
“almost all the wars were personal ; it was at the ex-
“pence of their blood, that they had gained a superi-
“ority over all the other European nations.

“Henry VIII. by suppressing the mass in England,
“established an irrevocable disunion between the two
“crowns, as there could now no longer be a recipro-
“cation of queens : not that marriages between sove-
“reigns prevent wars ; but they may happen some-
“times to suspend battles, making princes ashamed to
“slaughter their own kindred.

“The English scheme of aggrandisement, though
“formed so many ages before, was scarce carried into
“any considerable execution till Elizabeth. Adversity,
“the best school for sovereigns, had taught this
“queen to reign : she secured England on all sides :
“her laws and foundations show her to have been
“thoroughly acquainted with the principles both of
“political and civil government.

“Whilst England was laying the foundations of ad-
“ditional power, France, to which Francis I. had
“given a new appearance, afterwards became a prey
“to domestic dissensions and civil wars, and was sinking
“under its own ruins. Calvin had given the monar-
“chy a fatal blow ; not because he alienated the
“French from a belief in the mass, (that is what very
“few concern themselves about) but because the tur-
“bulent

“bulent ambition of the great made the reformation a
 “pretence for commotions ; and several reigns were
 “filled with disturbances and seditions.

“At this time it was, that France itself premedita-
 “ted a massacre of its own subjects; and the festival of
 “a saint, called Bartholomew, was chosen for this ge-
 “neral murder. Had England, ever profuse of its
 “blood to weaken France, made one vigorous push
 “at this juncture, the monarchy, perhaps, would to
 “this day have never recovered itself : but, as before
 “observed, ambition does not always all it can ; and
 “well was it for Europe, as otherwise it would long
 “since have been under one master : a modern Julius
 “Cæsar had unquestionably made it his own.

“Henry IV. appeared, and greatly did France
 “stand in need of such a prince : but his reign was but
 “a sudden flash ; he was scarce seated on the throne,
 “when the hand of an execrable assassin tumbled him
 “from it, and the monarchy relapsed into its weak-
 “ness.

“Great Britain, in the mean time, kept its eye on an
 “increase of power, and was silently carrying on mea-
 “sures for that navigation, which one day would put
 “the dominion of the sea into its hands ; and the
 “French government, instead of traversing its designs,
 “left it all the time it could wish to increase its
 “strength.

“The reign of Lewis XIII. successor to Henry IV.
 “was little adapted to draw France out of that deep
 “lethargy into which so many domestic calamities had
 “plunged it ; that prince himself, besides his imbecil-
 “lity, moroseness, and dissimulation, was too fluctu-
 “ating to lay down a plan, and conduct it methodi-
 “cally.

“Richlieu, his minister, whom history classes a-
 “mong great men, because he made great alterations,
 “was deficient in that universal genius which carries
 “its views into succeeding ages, and perceives future
 “events. This all-seeing minister did not see that
 “England was laying the foundations of a prodigious
 “navy : the clipping the wings of the Austrian eagle,
 and

“ and depressing the nobility, that he might rule at
 “ pleasure, was all he minded: he was writing plays
 “ whilst he should have been forwarding the building
 “ of ships. Mazarin, his successor, had not honesty
 “ enough to have the public good at heart; the pre-
 “ ferment of his relations was his leading motive.

“ Whilst England was forwarding its naval domini-
 “ on, a turn happened in its government: the weak
 “ administration of James I. reduced it to a level with
 “ France; and Charles I. his son, was little better
 “ qualified to retrieve the superiority. Then it was
 “ that arose Cromwell, who overturned the throne,
 “ and put the king to death.

“ After this tragical event, the state recovered its
 “ consideration: the tyrant restored order at home,
 “ and caused the British name to be respected abroad.
 “ All the several pieces of polity he put together, so as
 “ to make a formidable whole; and most of the pre-
 “ sent supports of that government may be said to
 “ come from him.

“ The prosperity of England, under Oliver, might
 “ lead one to apprehend, that tyranny was good for
 “ something: never, under any lawful prince, had it
 “ made such a figure. The murderer of king Charles
 “ enjoyed the fruits of his horrid policy during the
 “ course of his life, and he died in his bed: so far from
 “ being insulted or disturbed, he ruled with distinc-
 “ tion.

“ If private persons can, by any thing, be put on
 “ attempting to grasp at sovereignty, it is the deference
 “ paid to this usurper by the several crowned heads of
 “ his time: most kings studiously sought his alliance,
 “ and at his decease several courts went into mourn-
 “ ing.

“ During this tragical scene at London, was born
 “ Lewis XIV. he ballanced the power of England, and
 “ sometimes even made the scale preponderate on his
 “ side. This astonishing reign disclosed funds of strength
 “ in the monarchy, which his predecessors had not ob-
 “ served: Lewis, as it were, created a second king-

dom, and inspired his people with new talents and dispositions.

From the latter epocha are chiefly to be dated the systems of aggrandisement, in pursuance of which the two crowns made themselves masters of both elements.

France levied innumerable land-armies, and England fitted out large fleets. The two theatres soon after became joined into one, which was all tumult and slaughter.

Weariness, and the deficiency of the means of war, had possibly restored tranquillity between the two nations ; but an event, which fell out about this time, proved the source of endless quarrels ; avarice had discovered several rich mines in the new world.

England, by its activity, got those of Brasil into its hands ; and this being an inexhaustible fund, pretences for war were never wanting afterwards.

The animosity between the two nations increased by a revolution in the human mind ; each now pretending to a superiority in arts no less than arms.

Of all competitions, the most dangerous is that derived from the understanding, as being fomented by sciences. Religion, through the schism in the respective belief of the two nations, alienated their hearts from each other ; and this disunion was farther inflamed by the difference of governments.

These, my lords, were the first causes of the continual wars between the two nations ; and these causes raised commotions throughout all Europe ; for France and England, being grown two potent states, drew all the other governments into their disputes.

No end being put to the general quarrels by sieges and battles, systems of a perpetual pacification were often brought on the carpet. The first who worked on this plan was Henry IV. king of France ; but therein that generous prince shewed the virtues of a good father of a family, more than the talents of a dexterous politician : his system was deficient in

“ its principles. One St. Pierre, a churchman, though
 “ he spent his whole life in political reveries, has wrote
 “ on this subject with a jejuneness from which no
 “ success could be expected.

“ In our days John James Rousseau, of Geneva,
 “ has published a delineation of a perpetual peace ;
 “ but the methods he proposes are impracticable ;
 “ his plan is totally without support ; he leaves large
 “ gaps unfilled : in fine, this writer, however famous
 “ in other articles, is no great conjurer in the interests
 “ of princes : he shews more of sorcery in his *Village*
 “ *Fortune-teller* ; at least, his music is more diversified
 “ than his politics.

“ Honest James, in his zeal for establishing the pro-
 “ digy of a general peace, supposes one still greater ;
 “ that is, that princes will depart from ambition, and,
 “ to promote his scheme, become moderate and equi-
 “ table. He is for erecting a supreme tribunal, where
 “ the differences of sovereigns should be discussed in a
 “ judicial process, and makes the most illustrious among
 “ the European princes so many justices of peace.

“ He proposes to convert the universal common-
 “ wealth into a federate government, where manners,
 “ religion, and customs, should connect all the several
 “ parties, forgetting that this is the very thing which
 “ would set them at variance. It is presuming too
 “ much to expect that princes shall be equitable and
 “ moderate, forbear all violence and open force : there
 “ are some who would rather not be kings at all,
 “ than on such conditions.

“ The like may be said of nations. To conceive
 “ that the multitude of Mortals, called people, are
 “ capable of agreeing on their respective happiness,
 “ certainly argues very little knowledge of them.
 “ Should God himself come down on earth, offer to
 “ nations a plan of eternal happiness, some among
 “ them would declare even against this, and rather go
 “ to hell than acquiesce in a general compact, though
 “ the offer of heaven.

“ It is the make of human nature, and all the words

“ and books in the world will not be able to alter
“ it.

“ Neither are the interests of princes to be settled
“ by a general diet, as many have imagined; political
“ societies would be dissolved before any thing was
“ agreed on for their consolidation in such assemblies.
“ Whilst they were strengthening Europe on one side,
“ another part would fall to ruin: on the accommodation
“ of old claims, new ones would arise; for
“ every generation sees fresh rights introduced, and every
“ right produces fresh pretensions. The erection
“ of a supreme court to limit or restrain the ambition
“ of princes, is a mere chimæra. To make kings equitable
“ and moderate, the motions of their hearts
“ must be regulated; and such morality is without the
“ verge of diets, instituted purely to discuss the interests
“ of princes.

“ Should this happy event (I mean a fixed and permanent
“ peace throughout all the members of the universal
“ body politic) ever come to pass, it will be
“ owing to a fortuitous concurrence of second
“ causes: should our hemisphere ever see that golden
“ age, to the disgrace of civil society be it spoken, it
“ will be without consulting human reason: kings
“ must be unacquainted with it, the people be ignorant
“ of it, and policy itself know nothing of the
“ matter.

“ Exclusive of these general causes of discord between
“ France and England, there are others more
“ particular.

“ Of these one of the principal is, the two governments
“ always finding themselves, at a peace, on the
“ same level of strength as before; so that the agents
“ of the two crowns seem to have laid a wager that
“ things shall be left in *statu quo*.

“ On signing a peace, each nation falls to repairing
“ its power; one levying troops, the other building
“ ships. France fills the continent with its armies,
“ and the fleets of England cover the seas; till, on the
“ very first occasion of fighting, this new state of
“ strength

“ strength is exerted in sieges, battles, and engagements.

“ The plenipotentiaries are no naturalists ; the influence of the elements is a thing unknown to them : none of their negotiations turn on contracting the sea, or setting boundaries to the earth, neither is their policy more skilful in preventing the means by which one nation is enabled to pay subsidies and the other to make war. They never think of cutting off the sources of American riches, which, running all to one side, set the two nations at the keenest variance.

“ Besides all these negotiatory defects, those of circumstances, of mistakes, of disappointments, and exigencies, likewise come into account.

“ The present peace is a stroke of compulsive politics, in itself pregnant with a fresh war ; it should have been made sooner, or have been put off for some time longer. There are unhappy junctures, when it is better to let war take its course, than to suspend its operations ; when cannons are the best plenipotentiaries, and battles the best congresses ; and such junctures are those, when each party retaining its claims and animosities at a treaty of peace, are only the more exasperated against each other.

“ During these pauses, which are little more than suspensions of arms, both sides recover their strength breathe awhile, and then fall to fighting with greater fury and obstinacy than ever.

“ A particular peace between France and England is ever productive of more battles. It has been said, and some shallow politicians have advanced in writing, that the wars of the North do not necessarily affect the rest of Europe ; but that is an error, and betrays an ignorance of the manifest connection between the Germanic body and the other European states : Germany has, in all times, been of great weight in the concerns of our political world ; it was she which broke the Roman fetters, and delivered the world from slavery.

“ Its wars are those of all nations: the capital powers cannot avoid taking part with them, were it only to maintain a ballance there, and hinder any power from attaining to a dangerous augmentation of force.

“ If the Germanic divisions are left to subsist, the consequence will be, either the house of Austria will swallow up that of Prussia, and then France unsheathe the sword again, to prevent so threatening an increase of Austrian power; or the king of Prussia will be too hard for Austria; and in this case, he knows beforehand what is to be done; he will cross the Rhine: thus, whatever be the event, a war between the two crowns will necessarily follow. Scarce does the history of Europe afford an instance of France's intermeddling in the affairs of Germany, and Great-Britain not throwing its weight into the opposite scale.

“ Other observations. When, of three powers making peace, not one is satisfied, it is morally impossible that the tranquillity should be of any continuance: France complains, England flames, and Spain murmurs.

“ The first thinks her cessions too large, the second conceives that more should be given her, and the last is persuaded that she parts with more than in reason she ought.

“ All are losers by the bargain; the conquering power itself comes short of its expences: the peace wants an immense sum of indemnifying England for the expences of the war, as indisputably appears from the new state of its national debts.

“ France has lost its troops, a part of its domain, and ruined its finances: Spain has been stripped of its ships, its American treasures, and a part of that continent.

“ Not one of these crowns makes peace from a pacific principle. On one side it is want, and on the other necessity, which hastens the signature of the peace: they would all continue fighting were they able: the motives of war are not ceased, but the finances

“finances are drained: we should still hear of battle upon battle, were not the military chests empty.

“The blows which England hath struck by sea are so strongly marked as to alarm France: it is become a maxim of her policy, that the very existence of her power depends on her having a strong navy; and this will renew the war, for it is the very rock against which all treaties of peace go to wreck.

“The political oversights may perhaps prove another obstacle to a settled tranquillity: a leisurely retrospect on the blunders committed during the war, must excite shame, and consequently a desire of effacing such scandal.

“Since there have been governments among men, and nations have laid down rules of policy, the like has never been known.

“The first belligerent power ruined itself; it has sunk under the weight of its own greatness; its supreme council has disgraced itself by improper alliances, unseasonable battles, and injudicious designs: instead of keeping to sea-fights, this power has chiefly confined its attention to a land-war; it has sent armies on armies into Germany, and left its colonies bare. This system of diversion was of excellent use to its enemies; every enterprise of theirs has succeeded.

“Its generals have seconded its ill policy; most of them, instead of fighting for the state, have carried on the war as best suited their personal quarrels: some have made scandalous truces purely to put money into their pockets; others have wasted numerous armies by needless marches and counter-marches; and all have suffered the army to be defeated, rather than their rivals should gain the honour of a victory.

“The last belligerent power has managed still worse; so that remotest posterity will stand amazed at such a singular transaction.

“Were we, in an account of some part of North America, to read of two tribes being at war several years, and that one of them solicited a third, its

“ neighbour and formerly its ally, to declare in its favour
 “ at a time when she might have done so with advantage, but that the latter had deferred her assistance
 “ till the other is ruined; and then after a quick succession of defeats and losses, clap up a peace, whereby she defrayed all the charges of the war; we
 “ should say, what a senseless tribe was this!

“ This fine project is committed to two very weak ministers; men of no capacity, who sent repeated
 “ advices concerning the inability of the courts where they resided, but with no knowledge of its
 “ resources.

“ Notwithstanding this disposition of second causes
 “ tending to a war, it would not be impossible to establish a lasting system of peace between the two crowns;
 “ but in this the ministers must go another way to work, than in common treaties.

“ Perhaps the few following articles would forward
 “ this great transaction, more than the multitude
 “ of negotiations, which hitherto have proved of no
 “ effect.

“ I. Not to sign a treaty of peace till the affairs of Germany be terminated.

“ II. To fix the navy of England and the military establishment of France.

“ III. To annul Cromwell's treaty, and make the Portugal trade free.

“ IV. To agree that the first of the two powers breaking the peace and committing hostilities, either by sea or land, should, besides the costs of the war, pay to the other the sum of one hundred millions of livres Tournois.

“ V. To have these articles guaranteed by all the powers in Europe.

“ This universal guaranty for establishing a general peace would meet with little opposition.

“ Two thirds of Europe, terrified by the thunder of the wars raging in the other part, would willingly come into it. It is a received maxim in politics, that when two or three governments apply themselves
 “ to

“ to military abilities, it is dangerous for others to be
 “ only spectators; as the belligerent powers, after
 “ subduing the martial people, fall on those who are
 “ not such. Perhaps there is now a disposition to this
 “ pacific guaranty, which has not occurred in Europe
 “ since Charlemagne.

“ The Pope is a pacific prince: religion puts the
 “ olive branch in his hand.

“ The Venetians buried their military virtues under
 “ the ruins of the kingdom of Candia: the system of
 “ their republic is intirely peace.

“ Genoa has, by severe experience, been taught to
 “ meddle no longer with edge tools.

“ Spain has recently felt that fighting is not its ele-
 “ ment; and it may be supposed that now it would
 “ sign a guaranty of peace to the end of the world.

“ Portugal was lately forced to draw the sword; but
 “ its *coup d'essay* cannot give it any great fondness for
 “ broils and battles.

“ Muscovy will be soon taken up with its own
 “ concerns. One half of the imperial crown being in
 “ the grave, is a check to that which continues in-
 “ vested with the sovereignty: so that, in the present
 “ situation of things, were an overture made to this
 “ court, of acceding to the pacific league, heartily
 “ would it embrace such a measure.

“ To the United Provinces nothing would be more
 “ welcome than the scheme of a perpetual suspension
 “ of arms. The last war, though almost general,
 “ could not induce them to arm: wealth, and not
 “ conquest, is the scope of their present system.

“ Saxony, when relieved from foreign troops,
 “ would think itself happy in guarantying a perma-
 “ nent treaty of pacification.

“ The smaller states of the empire are so weary of
 “ the war, that they would have a peace to last till
 “ the dissolution of nature.

“ Copenhagen and Stockholm could wish that no
 “ no more fighting might be heard of in the North,
 “ and *swords be for ever beaten into plough-shares*.

“ The king of Prussia is the only power in Ger-

“ many who is still inclined to blows ; and that is
“ the very reason why a general compact should be
“ made, as a check on him.

“ But, should most of these states decline gua-
“ rantying this peace, they might be compelled to
“ it.

“ Exclusive of the three great powers, France,
“ England, and the House of Austria, the others may
“ be looked on as intermediate, subordinate, and de-
“ pendent states.

“ Those three may properly be said to wind up
“ the springs by which the machine of Europe is
“ moved.

“ Italy, which formerly gave law to the universe,
“ is now weak and impotent, without any thing wor-
“ thy the name of a power in it. At Rome a priest,
“ at Naples a despot, and in the republics, a body of
“ nobles keep it in subjection.

“ The duke of Modena’s utmost extent of force,
“ his very body guard included, does not exceed two
“ two thousand men ; so that the greatest of his armies
“ makes only a small detachment.

“ The republics of Lucca and St. Marino have no
“ troops at all.

“ The king of Sardinia, who might sometimes be
“ be for intermeddling in the wars of Europe, is, at
“ present, too much confined in his dominions to
“ think of conquest. Since the settlement of Don
“ Carlos and Don Philip in Italy, his military abi-
“ lities are so hampered, that they have not room to
“ stir.

“ Most of the petty northern states, taken sepa-
“ rately, have neither strength nor power.

“ Russia, to bestow one word more on it, is little
“ superior to those states : its horrid despotism has
“ ruined every thing there ; it is the native country,
“ the home of bondage. Whatever may be said of it,
“ it has no real power ; for where there are only
“ slaves, there can be no soldiers.”

LETTER VIII.

*The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi,
at London.*

Madrid.

GOD formed the world ; then rested ; and a thousand years after, he created Spain : it is the newest country in the universe. By the backwardness of its politics, arts, sciences, and finances, one would think it was just come out of nothing. It wants twenty centuries of being on a footing with the other states of Europe.

Other nations have formed themselves by reflection, age, time, ambition, and a certain natural desire of aggrandisement ; whereas this has never made a single effort or trial : it has lost even the fruits of its self-love ; the greatest misfortune which can befall a nation ; for if its own passions do not support it, its political power must necessarily suffer a diminution.

Here ambition is over-ruled by sloth : this vice however weak and sluggish in other countries, is, in Spain, an active forcible passion. It is from a desire of doing nothing that they shun labour ; and this is the only active quality among the Spaniards.

The indolence is general ; a lethargic drowsiness is fallen on the whole nation. As to court-agitations, they are merely noise and vapour ; after a little hurry and clashing, all the bustle soon sinks into the general languor.

LETTER IX.

*The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na,
at Pekin.*

London.

FRANCE, England, and Spain, have signed the preliminaries of peace. The interests of the European crowns are taken to pieces like a clock ; setting the

the pointer of war and peace to whatever hour they please.

These preliminaries put an end to the union between France and the house of Austria; for here, to forsake allies when one has no farther need of them, is an established custom. They begin the war jointly, and make peace separately. After all the tumults and confusion of battles, every one forms again under the standard of its own interests.

Thou wilt perhaps imagine, that after such abrupt dissolutions of the most solemn alliances, these political associations admit of no farther renewal: but it is an agreement among the European monarchs to have no memory, and to forget the very resentment which violations of such engagements must excite; and so much the better for them, there being scarce any one prince who, on a treaty of peace, has not forsaken one or more allies.

LETTER X.

The Mandarin Champ-pi-pi, to the Superintendant of Religion at Peking.

London.

IN one of my former I mentioned to you, how dangerous mental improvements here are to religion. Every proficient in learning turns atheist. No sooner does a man come to know something, than he believes in nothing.

The commonalty are too dull to fancy there is no God: this is an intellectual flight, the portion only of superior intelligences. I have read the works of most of the great European geniuses, and almost all favour of atheism. The deeper a man has gone in science, the less is he persuaded of a Divine Existence.

It has been observed that, in Europe, religion keeps pace with ignorance; and that the less knowing nations are, the more firmly they believe in the Deity.

In Switzerland, where, from the climate, and per-
haps

haps other causes, wit is very scarce, no body in the least questions a Supreme Being.

Since the revival of arts in France, multitudes there deny a first principle: but England, where knowledge is rather more profound, and every one sets up for it, is over-run with atheists.

For my part, were I to be an European, let me be a Swiss; for I had much rather be ignorant of many things, than to be so very learned as to know there is no God.

LETTER XI.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

HERE great men follow the most fordid callings; all the nobility of this kingdom keep an eating-house or tavern. If you dine and sup at their houses, you pay for your meal. Indeed the master of the house does not bring in his bill, as at the King's-Arms or Bedford-head; but a row of domestics hold out their hands, that the guests might have regaled themselves cheaper at a real eating-house.

When an English nobleman invites a person to dine, he must immediately search his pockets to know whether he can allow himself that honour. This tax serves instead of paying servants wages; or, in other words, it is the public who support the luxury of the great: they invite people to their houses, and thus lay an impost on what they would have to be thought a free compliment and condescension. The lords sell their good cheer; only, instead of paying the master, you give money to the servants.

I know not a more absurd economy than this: both those who invite and the invited are losers thereby: to save a small matter in salaries, the masters are obliged to be at a greater expence, giving treats purely to put money into their domestics pockets; for who would serve for nothing?

Still the great, in effect, pay the salaries, since, for dining with one another, they likewise reciprocally pay: the only losers by this bargain are the foreigners, who, not keeping any table here, pay the servants of others, while no-body contributes to pay theirs.

Another inconveniency resulting from this practice is, that none but the wealthy can set their foot under a nobleman's table; and wealth does not always imply eminent merit or exquisite talents; so that this is deliberately depriving themselves of that part of society which, if not always the most useful, is at least generally the most entertaining.

LETTER XII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Cotao-yu-se, at Peking.

London.

THE usefulness of the public papers here, instead of being confined to politics, comprehends every article of civil life, not excluding even indecencies. They are exceeding convenient, and so very fit for corrupting the morals, that no nation in Europe has yet invented any thing that comes up to them.

For three shillings sterling, a girl of eighteen years of age may inform the public, that she can no longer hold out under the rigours of a tedious celibacy. For three shillings she may give notice to all whom it may concern, that if any one be disposed to ease her of that burthen, she is ready to concur on her part.

For form sake, indeed she mentions marriage; but they who are acquainted with such advertisements, very well know what grounds to go on.

Not long since the following article was seen in one of these papers.

ADVERTISEMENT.

" A young lady in her nineteenth year, her stature
 " something above a middle-size, round faced, fine
 " complexion.

“ complexion, blue eyes, small nose, mouth somewhat
“ large, fine teeth, a delicate arm, a dimpled hand,
“ well-made leg, with a pretty little foot, is disposed to
“ marry a gentleman of about twenty-five: if not quite
“ that age, it will not be minded; but he must be at
“ least above five feet eight inches in height, an oval
“ face, large forehead, black hair, chestnut eyes, hawk-
“ nosed, and, though something large and long, no
“ matter: fresh coloured, a broad breast, breathe free,
“ steady look, an erect walk, and not entangled with
“ the fair sex: not quite a fresh man: he must have
“ served, but not be worn.

“ As to his temper, he must be fond, but not
“ jealous. All letters to come to her hands without
“ being opened: especially no questioning of servants.
“ I forgot to mention that his fortune must be large,
“ the young lady having none, and marrying only for
“ the sake of going every evening to the Hay-market,
“ or Drury-lane, and having a chariot, two cham-
“ ber-maids, and four footmen.

“ Any candidate, with all the above-mentioned
“ qualities, to be next Sunday noon in the Park, in
“ the great walk, in order to a first interview, &c.
“ &c.”

A gentleman accordingly offered himself; and, eight days after, the same paper gave an account of the marriage; but saying nothing either of minister or witnesses, the husband, it seems, does not lose the game of marriage; it is only a drawn game.

What sayest thou to the freedom of a people where a news-writer is allowed to give a whole kingdom the bag to hold? Were such an advertisement put into the Gazette in China, the audacious author would be immediately carried before the censor of morals, who would order him to be bastinadoed.

LETTER XIII.

*The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na,
at Pekin.*

London.

THE English women are not served by eunuchs, who are generally too weak, and any little work soon puts them out of breath. They rather prefer real men, vigorous and well built, who can go through the fatigues of household work day after day. These are called footmen, and one of the chief qualifications for their place is, to be well shaped; for women, to avoid being troubled with ugly temptations, make use of pretty young fellows. They formerly had women about them; but that they found answered no purpose; and the service of men, with some little tutoring in the mysteries of their chamber, suits them much better.

A lady spends the whole morning in her apartment with two or three lusty fellows, powdered and perfumed, and all whose business is to serve her. Among these there is generally one who acquits himself of his duty better than the others, and he is distinguished accordingly: he may be called the white eunuch of the seraglio, having particular prerogatives and privileges. Sometimes the emulation is equal, in which case all distinctions are likewise so.

Some whimsical ladies will make use of Africans for the same service as Europeans, which however is looked on as a depravation; For, say the women of taste, whilst we can have whites, why should we make use of blacks?

If morality suffers by this custom, population is a gainer by it; for it is observed, that since the introduction of footmen at Paris, barrenness is not so common among the quality.

The succession to inheritances indeed cannot be said to be more legitimate; and the heirs of a wealthy personage.

personage not unfrequently appear to be issued from a footman.

What was formerly a mark of immodesty is now reckoned decent. Time was when a woman dared not shew herself any where cheek-by-joll with a man ; whereas now a young woman shall prance the streets and the public walks with a footman, holding him by the arm, and talking to him as an intimate. If she has but what she calls her domestic with her, she may stare at every body.

Formerly women could not appear in public but with other sort of company, which required many troublesome inquiries ; whereas now it is short work, they take a man.

LETTER XIV.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

A Scheme of aggrandisement prevails among the European princes, which will always be attended with the ruin of states and the desolation of the people.

The Christian monarchs cannot keep within the limits where Providence has placed them ; they must always be making additions to their dominions, and from this general usurpation spring particular wars. A sovereign cannot form a design of invading a province, but eight or ten princes must immediately enter into a defensive or offensive league ; for if it be the interest of several sovereigns that the power of him from whom such province is taken, be curtailed, it may be the interest of others that it should rather be increased ; so that each takes up arms in his own cause, and to fighting they fall on all sides.

A thousand times has it been demonstrated to kings, that the conquest of the best country is not an equivalent to the loss of a hundred thousand of their subjects ;

jects; yet they go on ravaging and tearing one another to pieces.

A fixed and permanent peace throughout all Europe has long been talked: for this there is but one way; I mean, that all the princes of the Christian world should enter into a solemn compact not to transgress their present boundaries. But, alas! this is the stalest project which modern policy has formed; it is a promise ever made and never kept: it is a clause with which all treaties in Europe are sealed; and this very clause makes them all of no effect. This part of the universe will ever be a scene of devastation and terror, carnage and horror, till a prince more fortunate, or more enterprising than others, shall, by universal conquest, put an end to that equilibrium which makes so many nations unhappy. What a wretched extremity, to be obliged to wish for an universal despotism, as the only means of a general tranquillity! a servile system, preferring slavery to death.

LETTER XV.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

IN all, or almost all, the European states, the observance of the laws lies at an infinite distance from the theory. Every parliament the prohibition of games of chance is renewed; yet is this prohibition so little regarded, that games of chance are every where played, and to the greatest excess. The mischief is, that they who make the laws, set the example in breaking them.

Under the very eye of the court there is an honorary gaming-house, where the nobility and other great men meet more or less, and from morning to night endeavour to ruin one another. A seat in this place is accounted a privilege of distinction, it not being free to every one to come and lose his money here: it is easier to be made a member of parliament than to gain admittance into this gaming assembly. It were to be wished,

wished, for the good of the state, and the advantage of private families, that the directors of this society were still more difficult on this point: play here is said to be a privilege of nobility, as if any body of men could have a privilege contrary to the very fundamental laws.

The English law against games of chance comprehends both high and low, and the infractor, whatever be his condition, is subject to the penalties specified in the law: these penalties should rather be increased in proportion to the offender's rank; for the ill example of the great, corrupting the people, is high treason against the commonwealth. What would become of the best communities, were the chief members to assume a right of corrupting the constitution?

It is asked, whether the British nobility is not at liberty to meet in a privileged place, where, apart from the body of the nation, they may enjoy the immunities of their high birth? Unquestionably they have such a right; but this does not include an exemption from the duties of a member of society: this privilege, at such a rate, would be a tyranny; for whatever is contrary to the laws, is an offence against the state.

This is one of those abuses which subsist, because they, whose duty it is to look into and suppress them, are intimidated by the birth or dignity of the offenders. It may be safely affirmed, that, should a justice of peace come into the gaming room, and carry off both money and company, the whole would be good and lawful prize; not one of those gentlemen could produce any warrant for his doing what the laws forbid. This house, were it only for the corruption which it spreads among the great, should be walled in; for it is no better than the inferior resorts of this kind, where, from being dupes at first, men come to be cheats and villains.

LETTER XVI.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

WE have at present before us a striking instance of the corruption of European government: a general peace is concluded; the two smallest states have disgraced the two greatest powers in the universe; the plenipotentiaries of the latter have subscribed the monument of their shame.

Posterity will be amazed to see that two people, consisting of only eight or ten millions, have mastered several nations containing above fifty millions.

England has dispossessed France of a large American territory, and has farther gained a sovereignty from Spain: the king of Prussia, who was to have been stripped of every thing, is rather in a better condition than before the war; and all this after many sieges and battles for the space of near two lustres.

Such events are not to be attributed to fortune, which is seldom seen to be of a constancy like this: they are manifestly the result of natural causes.

It was indeed morally impossible that the issue should be otherwise: the two large bodies were under a bad administration, whereas the conduct of the others was regular; in one of them the king managed the state, and in the other the subjects themselves secured the common-wealth; whereas in the former nobody had an eye to the government.

It is political, civil, and military order, and not the number of men, which constitutes the power of states: arms are of little use where heads are wanting. Among other instances in ancient history, do we not see Alexander, with a handful of men, defeating Darius's numerous army? This has been, and always will be, the case.

Wars like every thing else in the world, to succeed, must be well conducted; otherwise they infallibly miscarry, even with a superiority of strength.

A prince

A prince forming and disciplining his troops himself, leading them to battle in person, his own general and counsel, avoiding sensuality, luxury, and pleasure, will necessarily have the advantage over a monarch who has not the least notion of military virtues, who suffers himself to be directed by his subjects, has mistresses and favourites, is weak and led by voluptuousness, and a love of pleasures to do things contrary to his interests—Such a prince, I say, will come off by the worst, did he sway the sceptre over three fourths of the universe.

LETTER XVII.

*The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi,
at London.*

Madrid.

THIS people is so eaten up with devotion, that they carry it even to profaneness: they believe in every thing except God: they worship the saints, and pray to the Deity. To give a rectitude and propriety to the Spanish religion, an alteration must be made in heaven. The paradise of the Spaniards is too much crowded; their petitions never reach the celestial throne, being intercepted by the way.

The capital religious honours are paid to a female, stiled the Blessed Virgin, as having brought forth Christ; and on this account the supreme honours are paid to her. Were it not for the mother, the son would be worshipped more.

Religion, the end of which was to clear up the darkness of the mind, here offuscates the understanding. Superstition, the daughter of despotism and ignorance, keeps reason and the senses chained down. Compliments to the saints supersede business and labour. The common-wealth is postponed to the saints, the invocation of whom takes up two hundred days in the year; during all which time the state lingers, and the government remains without action. What sayest thou of a people, among whom religion is so prevalent, as to impoverish

poverish the state, and cut the sinews of political powers?

LETTER XVIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Peking.

London.

THE people in England are strenuous in defence of what they call their liberty: they do not use battering cannon, but keep a brisk fire with verbal artillery; the batteries of talk and pamphlets never cease: when once the trenches are opened, they never raise the siege, till the place of the party devoted to destruction be given up: they have hooted, hissed, and clamoured, till the minister, the butt of all these outrages, has withdrawn and left them masters of the field.

What amazes me is, that this minister held out so long against the ballads, prints and murmurs, of the public. However light those things are made of at first, they at length come to gall; thence impatience, and this is followed by resignation and retreat.

Perhaps the minister would still have stood his ground, but a North-Briton vexed him so as to put him out of all patience. This North-Briton, which was only a loose sheet of paper, determined to allow him no rest till he saw him fairly out of the precinct of St. James's; and would not lay down the pen till he was removed from the management of affairs.

In France the author would have been silenced, and thus a stop put to the dispute; but here the government cannot hinder the printing of what it would not have read. It is a national privilege; and in the manner it is made use of here, it may be said to be peculiar to England; at least, Europe has not a country where the people dare to express themselves so licentiously.

There

There are at present a thousand Frenchmen in the Bastile, and there they will die for having written too freely, as it is called in France; though this freedom has not been carried near so far as the liberty allowed in England is every day.

I know not whether I become used to the English notions, or whether I begin to think rightly on the liberty of the subject; but my ears are not so much offended, as they used to be, when an author says of a minister, who may have misrepresented a public action, that he has told a lie. However, as the word still seems to me something harsh and abrupt, I was lately saying to a Briton, whether it would not be better, on such occasions, to make use of a periphrasis, and say, Such a minister has disfigured the truth: No, no, answered he, no such circumlocutions; when a minister tells lies, why should he not be called a liar; and when he betrays his country a traitor?

LETTER XIX.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

SINCE the baronet has laid aside the speculative sciences, he reads only pamphlets; and his reason for this is, that this reading does not require any genius, and leaves the mind as it was. He adds, that these writings contain only words without things, that they may be read without attention, and all the labour is in the eye. According to him, an Englishman, who has read over three thousand pamphlets, has not worn his faculties so much as he who has read only a hundred pages of Mr. Locke on Human Understanding.

Thanks to the taste of his age, he may abundantly gratify himself; for the sands of the sea are not more in number than the pamphlets which come out in this city. It is now half a century since a book has been made in England, though there never was so much printing; heaps of productions, and very few works.

A dis-

A disposition for light and superficial pieces is come into vogue, and has extinguished that speculative and profound genius, which, as I have been told, was formerly the characteristic of the English.

It is scarce possible to fix the reason of the Britons being grown so frivolous, and why their writings abound with that volatility which they formerly so much despised.

Some impute it to this island being deluged, as they call it, with French books, the distempers of the mind being contagious, like those of the body: but I can scarce believe this to be the true reason, as, on a comparison, the best English works are found to have been composed at a time when the French wrote a great deal, and the English perused those writers a great deal more.

The present method of education among the Britons must certainly contribute greatly to this frivolous taste. The first ages of life on which depends, as I may say, the formation of the genius, is spent in trifles. Before the masters who instruct them in dancing, music, fencing, and riding, have done with their scholars, the time for giving a solidity to the mind is elapsed: those academies, however they accomplish the body, leave the understanding in its natural state; that is incult: few engage in a regular study. Both English and French only skim the surface of science. The general taste is for flimsy amusements; and this futile cast, of which education is the source, infects their literary performances. The English, instead of their former gravity and seriousness, are become sufficiently sprightly and jocular. In their common talk they affect puns, quirks, and double-entendres, and withall are very verbose, which renders their works confused and prolix; for books are like conversation.

This inclination to know nothing is seconded by a political literature, which consists in teaching nothing.

Every morning is published here a large folio divided into twelve different editions, all words and no sense; yet of these no less than sixty thousand copies are constantly vended in the several parts of this city.

These

These papers, as they are called here, are, on being brought to their respective destinations, greedily snatched up.

As these diaries contain neither stile nor things, they divert the mind from reflection, and incapacitate it for deep and settled thinking. In Europe the human mind is so mutable that any minute second cause can totally change it. Were five or six women to bring into the world each a child with organs well adapted for science, this shall give a turn to the genius of a whole nation. It is to the mothers of Chancellor Bacon, Newton, Locke, Addison, and some others, that England owes its literary glory.

LETTER XX.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, at London.

Madrid.

OF all the governments in Europe, that of Spain is the weakest and most languid: how can it be otherwise, when not one branch of the political power is rightly managed?

An iniquitous tribunal, under pretence of securing religion, extinguishes freedom of mind and virtue; so that the country is over-run with pusillanimity and superstition.

Population is continually decreasing by the multitudes of those who make a vow of celibacy.

A wealth of mere show preys on real opulence.

A large adventitious state on the other side of the world absorbs the principal.

This languor is chiefly owing to the decay of tillage, the ruin of trade, a habit of inactivity, a neglect of manufactures, &c.

The recovery of the monarchy may be effected,

1. By abolishing the inquisition.
2. Diminishing the clergy.
3. Shutting up the mines.

4. Quitting America.
5. Cultivating Spain.
6. Encouraging skill.
7. Reviving the arts.
8. Increasing manufactures.
9. Multiplying commerce.

But these things require a total change of the general system ; and too many have an interest in the present situation of affairs ; so that, in all likelihood, this nation will gradually fall into such a state of debility, as to become an easy prey to one of its powerful neighbours.

LETTER XXI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Cotao-yu-se, at Pekin.

London.

LOVE, in Europe, puts on all shapes ; here he turns postillion, there running-footman ; and, in England, he is a hunter. A young woman who makes it a custom to ride, puts herself in a fair way of leaping the ditch of love.

I have been told of a certain lady, who, after leaving no stone unturned to gain a nobleman's affection, but all to no purpose, as her last shift, thought of trying what fox-hunting might do, that being the lord's favourite sport ; and in one of the hunts she clearly went over a ditch, which he never would venture on : this atchievement answered her wish to its very height ; the nobleman became passionately enamoured with her. This adventure spreading, set half the ladies in England on mounting their steeds to leap over a ditch.

In France women make it their chief glory to wound men ; in England they pride themselves in killing beasts. At Paris they send love-letters ; at London, hares.

A sight of these female fox-hunters would put you out of conceit for ever with the whole sex. From the head to the chest they are men ; but what they are from

from the chest downward to the feet, is scarce to be defined.

However courageous these game-heroines may conceit themselves, it is very seldom any one is known to come up to the scope of this exercise ; so that it is half lost on them.

Every art begets some peculiar virtue. Thus hunting, an image of war, strengthens the body, and intres it to those fatigues which more or less are inseparable from war. I do not know but it may likewise be productive of courage, or fix it where it meets with it : as such it is highly proper in men ; but that it is not so in women appears from its not having that happy effect in them. I have seen some of these hunting ladies so weakened by this exercise, which is very violent, that, only at thirty years of age, they could scarce stand on their feet.

Women only lose their labour in affecting manly qualities : their weakness, some how or other, ever betrays itself. Besides, were it so that this exercise did really inspire them with courage, it is what the world has no need of : they are already but too strong in their natural timidity ; and what would become of us were this timidity to be changed into courage ?

Nature, wise in all things, has shared the accomplishments of the two sexes ; giving mildness, modesty, moderation, and patience, to the females ; whilst men distinguish themselves by ardour, resolution, and courage.

To go about introducing any change in this disposition of the virtues, will be filling society with disturbances and confusion.

LETTER XXII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Peking.

London.

L E T T E R S are come from France which occasion much speculation among the English news-mongers ;

mongers ; for the express brings advice that his most Christian majesty's favourite slave had supped * with the British ambassador : now this critical step puts the politicians to a stand, and various are the opinions concerning it ; some construe it to be a forerunner of England's total ruin, whilst others will have it to portend the utter destruction of France.

The party here called Jacobites affirm, that each dish served up at the slave's table cost England a million sterling ; whereas the Antigallicans say that France pays the whole. As all political difficulties afford a medium, some of the more moderate are inclined to think, that the court of Versailles will be at the charge of the ragouts, and St. James's pay for the bye-dishes. Again, some politicians look on this entertainment as a mere matter of indifference, and are only concerned how the English minister came off in the ceremonial, with a lady who is said to be versed in all the punctilios of taste, and who knows, to a hair's breadth, where every dish should be placed.

The scheme of the banquet is not yet come over : particulars are expected with no less impatience than those of a battle two years ago.

Europeans will be introducing politics into every thing ; in the want of sieges and battles they lay hold even of feasts and repasts, and conclude that the ruin of such or such a prince was the secret drift of an entertainment.

LETTER XXIII.

The same, to the same, at Peking.

London.

ABOUT a month ago the following letter was sent me from Paris. It came from a Frenchman, who, ashamed of the name, wants to go and hide himself in some remote part of China, never more to see or hear of his country's disgrace.

* No such supper was ever thought of.

— Mr.

“ MR. CHINESE,

“ Being informed that you are on returning to China, allow me to beg the favour of taking me with you. I am persuaded, that when acquainted with my reasons for exiling myself, you will grant my request. My case is this :

“ I am by birth a Frenchman, and came into the world at the close of the reign of Lewis XIV. Though that prince had put the affairs of the crown a little out of sorts, and the monarchy had sustained several considerable losses, still was the French name respected : the best martialist that ever stepped on Prussian ground, would not have faced the meanest French soldier, and a first-rate English man of war would immediately lower its flag at the sight of one of our smallest ships. But times are altered : a hundred thousand Frenchmen would not be a match for fifty thousand Prussians, and a few English barks are too hard for our greatest fleets. A petty German prince strikes France with terror, and a handful of islanders give law to the greatest monarchy in the universe. The French, in Europe, out-number the Prussians, ten to one, and are three to one in respect of England ; yet Prussia sends us commands, and England dictates to us. A disgraceful war is succeeded by a scandalous peace.

“ Our government has sent one of our dukes to London, most humbly to beg, that the English would be pleased to accept of one of our principal colonies, and to keep all the ships which they abruptly took from us without so much as declaring war.

“ You will own, good Sir, that these are mortifications, at which a true Frenchman must blush up to the ears. For my part, it grates me so, that I am determined to go and sequester myself in the farthest part of Asia.

“ Be so kind as to let me know when you set off, by a line directed for me at the Antigallican Coffee-House, in Malecontent-Street, Paris.”

Before I had well read over the above, another was brought me, dated from this city.

“ My Noble MANDARIN,

“ I have been informed, that in a little time you will return to your own country ; I shall be very much obliged to you, if you will give me leave to attend on you.

“ I conclude, from your being a Chinese, that you are a man of too much morality to deny my intreaty, when informed of my reasons ; they are briefly these.

“ I am an Englishman, born in the latter end of Queen Anne's reign. Though the French, at that time, were pretty powerful, we fought them, as is the case at present. Sometimes it happened that we had the worst of it ; still we concluded the war with an advantageous peace, securing to us our several rights with some additions. But now it is the very reverse : we have drubbed them by sea and land ; we have ruined their armies and fleets ; we have taken some of their ports in every part of the world, and made ourselves masters of their colonies ; and the result of all these achievements is, that we are making a scandalous peace with them. There's a skeleton of a French duke come over, who makes our government believe whatever he pleases : he has brought them to think, that it is for our advantage to restore France all we have taken : he has convinced the ministry, that our wealth will increase by beggaring ourselves ; for, most noble Mandarin, after so many glorious campaigns, nothing less than the total welfare and reputation of England lies at stake. We have lost seamen and soldiers beyond all number ; our population is lamentably weakened ; our finances are at a sad low ebb, and the national debt immeasurably swelled. Nothing under keeping what we had conquered at such an expence of men and money, could make us amends ; and our crown has gone and made a general cession.

“ It

“ It may easily be proved that twenty defeats would
 “ not have cost so much, as the last half dozen victo-
 “ ries we gained over the French: of this truth the
 “ very persons who have signed this scandalous peace
 “ are persuaded. But shall I tell you how all this is
 “ come to pass? Our government, for these last ten
 “ years, had proceeded invariably in a just and metho-
 “ dical plan, and accordingly every thing went well;
 “ but an upstart has appeared on the stage, and, to
 “ get himself a name, was for turning all things upside-
 “ down; for in England, he who aims at the minist-
 “ try must make great changes. It is the work of a
 “ party-spirit, which has swallowed up every other
 “ consideration; for with us cabal blunders on hand-
 “ over-head, bearing down whatever happens to be in
 “ its way, &c. &c.

“ You cannot but own, noble Mandarin, that it
 “ must vex a true Englishman to the heart, to see one
 “ man shuffle and cut the cards of state just according
 “ to his fancy. As for me, it gives me the heart-burn
 “ to such a degree, that I long to be out of the hearing
 “ of the very name of Europe.

“ I use the Jacobite Coffee-house, at the sign of
 “ King Stuart.”

I am at a loss to which I shall give the preference:
 however, if the Frenchman be of the same mind when
 I leave Europe, I believe he will be my man.

LETTER XXIV.

*The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-
 na, at Peking.*

London.

THERE are here two sovereigns, part of whose
 business it is to do the honours of this metropo-
 lis: one resides at St. James's, and the other lives near
 the Exchange.

The king of England does not affect high living; but
 the king of London, or the lord-mayor, keeps a very

splendid table. He has sometimes a large company of persons of distinction ; and neither the emperor of China, the Grand Mogul, nor the king of France, entertain with such magnificence. Strangers being admitted to his table, I lately dined there : we had seven hundred different dishes ; indeed there was such a profusion, that, had they been divided, they would have feasted all the sovereigns in Europe, and perhaps with better fare than some of them are used to.

This lord is usually a tradesman. Among the European nations you continually meet with contradictions. Their first commercial maxim is method, œconomy, and frugality ; whereas this mercantile lord is lavish to a prodigious excess.

Did the present monarch's extravagance end with his reign, which lasts only a year, there would be no great harm ; but the succeeding lord-mayors, to be sure, will not be outdone ; all will make it their glory to vie in luxury, and the like magnificence will be perpetuated in a class, of which plainness and moderation are the natural characteristics.

LETTER XXV.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

IN Europe the praises given to princes always depend on time, place, and circumstances, but more especially on the want there is of them. At such time their courage and military virtues are extolled to the skies ; but nothing more is heard of them when they are no longer necessary.

Since the settlement of the preliminaries of peace between France and England, there is no more talk of the king of Prussia than if he were in his grave. His ministers, who were so caressed about two years ago, and who looked so big, are shrunk almost to nothing, so that they seem to be overlooked : should this system hold, I expect they will, ere long, become invisible atoms.

The

The revolutions, to which these changes of sentiments are owing, produce another effect, metamorphosing into vices the virtues which had been so much exalted. This monarch is charged with having greatly over-rated his heroic qualities; and the English complain that they have not only supplied him with large sums of money, but with the most lofty praises, which, according to their estimate, is double payment. Concerning this, I have been shewn the following letter, which a club of old Britons intend to transmit to that prince.

“ S I R E,

“ You cannot but know that the English have been
 “ the most passionate admirers of your heroic virtues :
 “ we have made all Europe ring with your applause ;
 “ we have kept your birth-day with more riot than
 “ that of our own sovereign ; our public papers are
 “ filled with panegyrics on your majesty, in prose and
 “ verse ; we admire your surprising penetration in fore-
 “ seeing events, that fortitude which nothing can dis-
 “ order, that genius in improving every advantage in
 “ an action, and preventing the bad consequences of a
 “ defeat ; and all these glorious qualities accompanied
 “ with an unparalleled heroism.

“ We have punctually paid you the full value of
 “ all your virtues in praises ; to heroes ever the most
 “ acceptable recompence.

“ You will therefore be pleased, Sir, to return us
 “ our money.”

L E T T E R XXVI.

*The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Superintendent of
 Religion at Pekin.*

London.

AMONG the Christians every nation has its peculiar way of preaching what they call the gospel. Some set the audience a weeping, others again incline them to laugh.

In England, the preaching, instead of inciting such emotions, rather sets the congregation a yawning: the ministers shew themselves so cold in their office, as if they meant to foster sinners in remissness; their lifeless monotony, void of all modulation and cadence, naturally brings a drowsiness on the hearers.

A skilful physician, who used now and then to hear a sermon, perceiving that they made him dull and heavy, used to prescribe to such of his patients as laboured under a want of sleep, to go and hear the word of God once a week: this remedy proved so effectual, that after two or three Sundays, his patients slept very soundly.

Since this trial, the best opiate is found to be an English sermon.

The art of convincing depends on that of persuading: conviction follows persuasion.

Every one knows, every one indeed feels, that the same words uttered in a certain manner, produce a certain effect; and that a different utterance will give them a different effect: the manner is ever the whole. A sermon which, delivered in a cold manner, inclines the audience to oscitation, would affect, and even transport, if animated with the warmth of elocution. Could this truth be doubted of, it is beyond all dispute publicly verified on the stage, where the impressions made by the actors are seen to rise and fall, according to the spirit and pathos with which they act their part.

Such is the power of elocution and gesture on the senses, that among the ancients their tribunal was inclosed within a partition, lest the judges might be seduced by the action of the orators.

Those of the English pulpit are in the other extreme: whatever body their discourses may have, they want spirit.

The word of God, say they, carries its power with it, and stands in no need of that impulsion which is necessary in the other branches of elocution: I should think so too, were it preached to angels; but the audience

dience consists of men, who are not to be moved but by impressing their senses.

LETTER XXVII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Superintendent of Religion at Pekin.

London.

TO follow the thread of my last; every thing in Europe, even to the preaching of the divine word, is wrong.

The Italian preachers, who have to deal with a very sensible audience, overdo their elocution; one would think they spoke to lifeless statues, or that the souls of believers, in that country, were so stupid, that nothing under the roar of thunder could move them.

In England, where the audiences are really such statues, the preachers are no better: not for Christ's kingdom, whose doctrine they preach, would they alter their tone, or stir a finger; and certainly the actors whom I mentioned in my last, must be sensible of this national phlegm; for none in Europe come near them for rage and passion. The success of the method used in one assembly should be a document to the speakers in the other.

The reading a comedy in a frigid monotony would never make a convert from the vice or foible exposed in it; few of the company would so much as perceive the keenness of the ridicule it was intended to convey. Were it read a hundred times, the company would not be moved, consequently not amend. Now, in all religions, the pulpit is, as it were, a stage, and heaven the drama exhibited for men's instruction.

I am very far from meaning that there should be any thing theatrical in preaching of the word of God, or in the display of heavenly mysteries; I am only for that degree of pathos, or fervour, which is really necessary to affect the hearers.

The professors of the worldly stage study their

parts;

parts ; but the English preachers do not trouble themselves about rehearsals.

A British evangelist has three things to dispatch on a Sunday morning ; the first is, to breakfast ; the second, to compose his sermon ; and the third, to deliver it.

Some there are who even save themselves the second, having a complete assortment for all the Sundays and holidays in the year.

Concerning this I have been told of a London rector, who, by inadvertency, putting up in his pocket the sermon of the preceding Sunday, instead of that for the day, began to read it without being aware of his mistake, till he had gone on for some time : when, suddenly stopping, he addressed the congregation in the following words : “ Dearly beloved brethren, you “ will excuse my not going on, as you already know “ what I should say to you, for last Sunday I gave you “ the very same sermon.” And so leaving the pulpit, he withdrew to the vestry.

For an exhortatory discourse to take effect, the orator should have all his organs at liberty ; as on their play and action persuasion in a great measure depends.

An English preacher is so taken up with what he is reading, that he cannot mind what he is saying ; and his eyes being immoveably fixed on the paper, he is incapable of any action : he is tied down to his sermon.

The Italian and French preachers are under no such restraint, relying on their memory : they know beforehand what they have to say : the principles, which it is their province to explain and inculcate, are imprinted in their brain ; whereas an English minister may be justly taxed with ignorance of religious morality, not one of them learning a word of it by heart.

LETTER XXVIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Peking.

London.

THE last advices from France say, that the government have proceeded against the officers, who were wanting in a proper defence of the American places which had been intrusted to them.

By their sentence they are deprived of all honour ; that is, they forfeit what they never had : some are degraded from their nobility, and others imprisoned for life.

The nation, in reality, herein brings itself to a trial ; for the disgrace and penalties of these individuals reflect on the people in general.

When they, who ought to defend the state to the utmost, fail in their duty, there must evidently be some original fault, to which such misbehaviour is owing ; and it is not so much individuals who are to be blamed, as the constitution ; the principles of which must be defective and corrupt.

The punishment of such delinquents is but a sorry revenge : perhaps it were better omitted, and thus the national disgrace be hidden : but France seems to have determined not to think of curing the disease, till it is past all remedy.

LETTER XXIX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Cotao-yu-se, at Peking.

London.

THIS place affords bad and good female company. The former consist of those who give themselves up to their desires without much caution, with whom an agreement is soon clapped up, and who shew themselves such as they are, that is, giddy and

and wanton, openly plunging themselves into pleasures and diversions.

The second class are the reserved and circumspect, with whom a surrender is preceded by many negotiations and precautions ; who lead men through labyrinths of which they only have the clue ; who totally shroud themselves ; who appear to be without desires or senses ; who affect an aversion to all amusements of a dangerous, or even suspicious appearance ; and whose disinterestedness is such, that on no account would they concur in guilt, unless a great fortune were in the case. As I estimate things according to their worth, and take care not to be deceived by appearances, bad female company seems to me less dangerous than the good : at least, here are numbers of people of fashion, who, after spending their life in this good company, are arrived at such a pitch of morality as to have no morals.

LETTER XXX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Pekin.

London.

AMONG those European nations which are under the spiritual dominion of the Pope, religion allows the people to be mad only once a year. This season, as I think I have said in one of my former, is called the Carnival ; during which, they are permitted to disguise themselves, and spend the night in dancing, gaming, and all manner of revelry.

In England, folly has no stated season ; all the year is carnival time here : I was yesterday at a masquerade given by a duke ; there was a prodigious company of all nations, but not one Englishman ; so that the dancing-room seemed a rendezvous of all nations, exclusively of Great-Britain.

The French often divert themselves in their proper appearance ; whereas the English seldom or never dance.

dance, but when masked. This I attribute to British gravity, which cannot bring itself to frolic bare faced.

The dresses were extremely rich ; the ladies especially were all over diamonds ; but I have since been informed, that the greater part of this luxury was hired at so much an hour. This thou wilt perceive is no bad contrivance for ostentation, as thus self-love gratifies its vanity at a reasonable rate, and for ten pounds sterling makes the appearance of ten thousand. This is an œconomy which our Chinese women are yet strangers to.

All the several degrees and orders of the Roman clergy were at this ball. These are indeed the only assemblies where the English government allows them to appear in their habits ; and here they are under no restraint of decency. I saw a cardinal romping a great part of the night with a young lady, who kindly indulged his eminence in some pretty familiar endearments.

It was expected that the pope would have danced ; but, unfortunately for the assembly, the milliner who was to have made the disguise, had not been able to finish all his *pontificalia* ; on which account his holiness, not to debase the dignity of the sacred see, did not make his appearance.

Besides the Roman church, several other branches of society enjoy the like privilege of irregularity : I observed a party where an Harlequin was dancing with a lady, and a dutchess with a Scaramouch. But the baronet, who was at this masquerade in the disguise of a pyramid of Egypt*, explained to me the mystery : Harlequin was the dutchess's husband ; and the lady Scaramouch's mistress.

* Such disguises have been known.

LETTER XXXI.

*The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi,
at Paris.*

Madrid.

I Have somewhere mentioned to you the fatigue and labours of the French ministers, but those of the court of Spain still exceed them ; they have not the least respite : it is really prodigious to see what pains they take to make the affairs of the monarchy still worse and worse.

One would think they were hired by the other potentates, and that their principal concern was to prevent the state's emerging from its present languor and debility ; at least, all their measures have a tendency that way.

Their ministry is spent in intrigues and cabals ; the main point is to supplant each other ; and during these particular contests, the state may fare as it can ; nobody minds it : the variances of the great men take up the public attention. Besides the vexation of personal quarrels, they spend themselves at their desks : they shut themselves up in the day-time, and sit up all night writing dispatches. Did they not make their appearance at court, and in the town, that the king and the people may be witnesses to their fatigue, there would be no such thing as seeing them : smaller matters would so far get the better of them, that they would not be at leisure to recollect that they have been chosen to be a support to the crown.

L E T-

LETTER XXXII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Pekin.

London.

THE European women are generally too giddy and dissipated for passions requiring conduct and vigilance. The sweets of a tender and refined love are only for those who are versed in self-enjoyment. The sex give themselves up to a continual round of diversions, so that their souls know nothing of serenity and repose: the day is too short for them; months and years pass unperceived in the whirl of pleasure: time fails them; and they scarce have the leisure to deceive their husbands.

The sex here have something in them stronger than love itself; I mean dissipation. The prettiest fellow in the world would not be thought a compensation for the pleasure of running the round of operas, plays, balls, and assemblies, besides the public walks, and casual and periodical diversions, all wide inlets to dissipation, so that they are sure of never being left to themselves.

In the mean time, the men who dangle after them to these places are wearied to death; and they who come after them are also killed with the same fatigue.

It had been purposed to suppress part of these diversions, as corrupting the national morals; but this would have been secluding one vice, and opening a door to several: I dare say, intemperance and debauchery would have gained more by such a reformation than dissipation would have lost.

In a state where virtue is not under the immediate protection of the laws, and incontinency is not prevented by the constitution, the sex should not be left to themselves.

The European women could not bear the inactivity and restraint of an eastern seraglio; their passions would

would grow outrageous for want of amusement: they would lay hold of every thing; for want of men, they would take up with eunuchs. Many an European husband, who hugs himself for being blessed with such a virtuous wife, little knows that for her fidelity he is obliged to a series of frivolous amusements, and that his honour, as it is called here, he holds of rope-dancers, the puppet-show, or opera.

LETTER XXXIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Superintendent of Religion at Peking.

London.

COULD men do without religion, and, if I may be allowed the expression, adore God without any form of worship, they would be the happier, and the Deity better served.

I dined lately, by invitation, with a virtuoso in dogmas, who had got together a complete collection of religions: the guests were a Roman Catholic, a Protestant, a Jew, an Anabaptist, a Turk, and, myself, a Chinese.

The several sects in Europe being distinguished by some characteristic in their exteriors, we immediately knew each other, though the first time of ever seeing one another; and a general disdain gradually clouded every countenance.

The Roman Catholic frowned on the Protestant, who expressed a great contempt of the Catholic, as one eaten up with superstition. The Jew looked on these two Christians as wretchedly blind, and in the Anabaptist's eye the Jew laboured under the most gross and blasphemous errors. The Turk and I alone shewed no rancour against persons who had never done us any wrong, only did not hold the same articles of belief as we. Our conversation, at first, was very grave and decent; it was not till religion came on the carpet, that it grew hot and irregular.

In the common disputes of the Europeans, it is not absolutely

absolutely impossible for one party to gain an allowed superiority, as, amidst all their conceited attachment to their opinions, they do not esteem themselves quite infallible ; but in religious matters it is a standing rule, never to own one's self in the wrong ; so powerful is this prepossession, that on no consideration will they desist.

Religion, which, among these people, is an excuse for every thing, blasphemies and invectives not excepted, generally prompts them on these occasions to come to high words. The Roman Catholic, whom, as master of the house, the laws of hospitality should have taught otherwise, fell foul of the Protestant, who transferred his invectives to the Jew, and he past them to the Anabaptist : the Turk and myself likewise received some splashes.

After having stoutly railed at one another, the company rose from table, darting threatening looks on all sides, as much as to say, that on the first opportunity they could not fail to renew the action.

Europe at present, is divided into as many mutual enemies, as there are people of different sects : the antipathies arising from the difference of manners, genius, and temper, have their intermission ; but that hatred, the source of which lies in the difference of religion, knows no abatement ; it is ever the same, without any temperament of lenity ; it is an exacerbation on which time itself, that has such a power on the human heart, makes no impression.

It is now above seventeen hundred years since the Israelites have detested the followers of Christ, and these again have abhorred the Israelites. The rancour between the Roman-Catholics and Protestants is not much above two hundred years standing, as before that time they were of one and the same sect. It is inconceivable what bloody wars this difference has occasioned. Indeed every sect in Europe is all over besmeared with blood ; and how can you think that religions make for man's happiness?

LETTER XXXIV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THE French and English are very fond of a diversion, which is really more dreadful than the tragedies acted at the theatre ; it is called Gaming, and there is scarce a house in which it is not exhibited.

The stage is a green table, and all, the actors perform their parts with, are little pieces of paste-board, on one side of which are painted magical figures ; and very strange are their effects on the gamesters, though far from being alike in all : in some they excite cheerfulness and exultation, and to others they give a look of vexation and resentment.

This theatre has no fixed hour, though it generally opens at the beginning of the night, and lasts till near sun-rising ; for in these pieces the acts are not limited.

Gaming is a kind of science, the scope of which is, to be lucky : this luck is nothing but a combination of chance ; and the grand point is, to have more of some pieces of paste-board than of others ; and in this superiority lies the difficulty of solving the problem of the game. The annals of this monarchy mention great numbers of persons who have hanged or drowned themselves, for having never been able to come at this solution.

The laws of play are to be met with in a book, which all the world almost knows by heart, without having ever read it. Besides this printed code, there are doctors of gaming who determine occurrences which the legislature could not foresee, its votaries ever transgressing its institutes.

Gaming is a kind of civil war, where the weaker generally beats the stronger, and boldness often makes a better hand of it than prudence. Sometimes, on the contrary, timidity succeeds, and courage miscarries.

The

The gaming tribe are continually taken up in passing definitive decrees, from which no appeal lies.

This spectacle is divided into two branches, low or pleasurable gaming, and high or destructive gaming: the former leads to inconveniences, and the latter ruins; one may be called the Comedy of the World, and the other the Tragedy of Chance.

It is scarce possible to give thee an adequate description of this diversion; but I believe thou wilt think it sufficiently abominable, when I tell thee that its votaries must certainly be actuated by an infernal fury. Some violently strike themselves, and tear their cloths; others break the stage to pieces, and even gnaw and devour those magical figures which excite these frenzies: some have been known to swallow wax candles when quite lighted.

The frequency of these fits threw the patients into a lethargy, which gave time to consider of ways and means for abolishing both altar and idol. Accordingly, this blind divinity, which gamesters had always revered, was ejected out of the temple of Chance, and another, more clear sighted, succeeded to its honours.

Now play was productive of no greater events than such as the actors themselves introduced. The importance and motions of the little paste-board figures was regulated, and the success depended on the dexterity of the hands which had them under their management.

This new deity, though very much given to tricking, soon came into great vogue; its temple is crowded with worshippers of all classes and conditions.

LETTER XXXV.

*The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi,
at London.*

Madrid.

IN France, and most European countries, the propensity to women is a vice of the mind ; in Spain it is a disease in the human frame.

It is no more in the power of a Spaniard not to love, than it is not to be indisposed. The sex derives its empire from the climate ; their dominion is interwoven with the constitution.

The fever of Spanish love is continual ; the disease only shifts its object : they are no sooner got over a delirium for one female, than immediately another turns their brain : their torture is still the same ; all the difference lies in the instrument of it.

Age itself is not a certain cure for this disease ; infirmity and passion often go together. The Spaniard never ceases to love, till his last gasp ; some even make appointments with their mistresses for the other world, that they may indulge their mutual passions for all eternity. So amorous a people, thou wilt readily imagine, must be extremely jealous ; and so they are.

A husband does not allow his wife to see her brother, nor converse with her cousin : his indulgence goes no farther than her being shut up with her director, or spending two or three hours in private every day with her confessor. This is, as it were, a conjugal instinct, and without which marriage would scarce be supportable ; for what a sad thing would it be for a young wife to have eternally at her side an old, ugly, infirm, and jealous husband ! she must soon sink under such misery ; but the vigour of a lusty Dominican or Franciscan makes amends for all other grievances : thus the husband is easy, and the wife pleased. I have often

often observed that, in Europe, every thing, even the most desperate evils, have their remedy.

LETTER XXXVI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Peking.

London.

THE fashion in Europe, besides its absolute power over dress, seems to extend its sway even over the human species.

There are times, at Paris and at London, when fashion does not allow of speaking distinctly; and then the genteel world stammers: the present fashion is, not to see very clear; he or she either, who, in defiance of mode, should look stedfastly at an object without a glass, would be accounted unworthy to appear in good company: people of fashion never go abroad without a microscope, like so many naturalists, continually making observations on bodies.

At the play or opera you see two or three hundred ogling-glasses, pointed one against the other. The beauties of the females, to reach the men, must pass through the glass; otherwise, so fashion ordains, they are arrested half way; and he who would be thought a connoisseur in optics of beauty, must use the glass.

A few days ago I was engaged with a party of two or three young ladies, and as many young gentlemen, to go to the play, where we promised ourselves a great deal of entertainment; but, by an unaccountable inadvertency, not one of the company had brought their eyes, so that, for shame, we could not pretend to see.

I have been told for certain truth, that hunch backs will soon come into fashion. Should the fair sex give into it, the inconvenience will be very great; for women having a protuberance before, nine months in the year, should they put on one behind also, there would be no walking London-streets.

There is also some talk of lameness being a fashion; if so, the whole nation will hobble, and some fribbles already are practising a pretty limp.

As

As to inattention, that has been gaining ground this long time : a well bred man is always more or less absent from the place where he is.

LETTER XXXVII.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

NOTHING, I believe, has more contributed to bring about the general peace of Europe, than that it was not thought necessary to have the several claims of the belligerent powers discussed in a congress.

Two men only took this affair in hand, and immediately brought it to an issue ; whereas ten commissioners would have been years about it, and, after all, things have remained *in statu quo*.

In the divisions of princes it is a certain maxim here, that the more mediators, the more is the mediation clogged ; the difficulties increasing in proportion to the number of the powers that intervene.

Every minister is for availing himself of the present circumstance, to start some particular claims ; so that the general affair, which caused the congress, is postponed, and often eluded.

A general congress is, as it were, a heavy road, over-run with thorns and briars : the misunderstandings of crowns flow hither from all parts ; it is a tribunal to which all the affairs of Europe are brought for decision ; and, in litigations, it is well known that the political are the most tedious.

Two or three princes, treating together about a general peace, come at once to the point, without any of the *ambages* affected by plenipotentiaries. If any difficulties arise, they relate to the essential, whilst punctilios are overlooked : to hit the nail on the head the first stroke, and to confine the discussions to what have been the principal object of the quarrel, is a good beginning.

In

In a word, the bare avoiding the wranglings about elbow-chairs, prerogatives, precedence, and the many other trifles of ceremony, is a great step towards the public tranquillity.

LETTER XXXVIII.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London, Sept. 1762.

THE expulsion of the black bonzes with broad-brimmed hats, who are now banished for ever out of France, has caused the court of Rome to hold an extraordinary council on what is to be done in an affair, in which nothing remained to be done. It is the usual folly of Christ's vicegerent to call a council for deliberating on what other courts have decided for him; but it being an inveterate disease which there is no possibility of curing, he is left to his old custom. The chief of the Christian sect, however, never fails pronouncing and promulgating his decisions.

On advice of this expulsion he called together his council, or thirty-three of his aids-de-camp, stiled cardinals; when it was resolved, that the procedures and acts of the parliament of Paris, relating to the expulsion of that society, were so many violations of his authority, and, being the acts of an incompetent court, were illegal and void: but appeals of incompetency being, in Europe, of no effect, if not supported by armies, and Christ's lieutenant having none, the act of the parliament of Paris has been fully executed.

Well is it for Europe, that the Holy See, as it is called, keeps no army on foot, or what troops it has are only for apostolical splendour and parade; otherwise this part of the world, besides its political wars, would never be free from religious quarrels: every act of parliament affecting the bonzes would be productive of bloodshed. The same ecclesiastical prerogative which intitles it to interfere in every thing, it seems, disables it from deciding any thing; and to this inability

ty the Christian potentates, in a great measure, owe their real power.

LETTER XXXIX.

The same, to the same, at Pekin.

London.

THE law, in England, must be very strong to stand its ground against a host of wranglers continually assaulting it on all sides. The regular forces of litigation, only for the city of London, are said to exceed all number: indeed, poor law is on its last legs; and the very judges are quite bewildered; they often know not which way to take.

Every nation in Europe has its peculiar method for trying crimes.

In France, a trial turns on the culprit's fact; in England, the spirit of the law is chiefly considered; and this spirit admitting various interpretations, as many ways may justice be eluded: this the law itself seems to have intended, chicanery being that spirit.

Most thefts are, here, good prize: the law, indeed, punishes them, but without any compensation to the person robbed: one suffers, but the other is never the better for it. Now this is doing justice only by halves: the money or goods stolen, instead of returning to the proprietor after conviction, remain to the robber, as a consolation under his sentence.

An Englishman, if he can but bring himself to spend his life in prison, may securely enjoy an ill-gotten estate, or a sum of money which he borrowed with an intent never to repay; or, if he makes light of losing some part of his body, he may rob more openly.

All the emoluments of his roguery are secure gains to him, and he loses only what he had previously resolved on sacrificing in consideration of such emoluments.

I have, myself, seen an Englishman who has got twelve hundred pounds sterling a year, only at the expence of his nose; and another, who had parted with

his ears for one hundred. The latter had forged a deed of gift, and suffered the law; but the gift remained in his hands, and at his death he disposed of it as his lawful property. According to the English jurisprudence, dismembering a delinquent is enough without restitution; otherwise the punishment would be double: some alteration indeed has been lately made in this article, yet far short of punctual equity.

The first duty of justice, after punishing the crime which disturbs the order of society, is to reinstate every one in the possession of his property: it is a scandal that a nation, which is looked on as one of the most sensible in Europe should be wanting in such a capital principle.

LETTER XL.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

PEACE indeed has restored the public tranquillity here; but it has so extremely disturbed society, that scarce any body is safe: people are stopped and robbed in broad day. Twenty thousand soldiers, their achievements being now at an end, are turned robbers, and, in the want of enemies, plunder their country.

The seamen, who have done so much honour to the British crown, are reduced to support themselves by violence, and, after very gloriously serving their country, are put to a scandalous death by the hands of a wretched executioner. Thus war, after wasting the finances and cramping population, makes matters still worse when it comes to cease: so great is its influence, that it subsists after the causes of it have been removed.

When sovereigns so far quarrel with each other as to take up arms, they compel their subjects to quit a trade which furnished them with a comfortable subsistence, and make them take up with another, for which there is no demand when the sieges and battles are o-

ver. The signing of a peace leaves numbers of people without trade or business, and consequently without a subsistence.

At the end of a war, every soldier should receive an equivalent for the calling, which he was forced to quit to carry a brown musket. It is no more than plain justice, that he who has left a subsistence to serve his country, should be restored to that subsistence when his country has no longer need of his services; but I don't know that ever such a thought occurred to any western government. And hence it is, that on a general peace every kingdom is molested with intestine depredations.

LETTER XLI.

*The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi,
at London.*

Madrid.

THE Spanish compositions would not want wit, were it not prohibited. I have seen, by some of their books, that they could be learned, and even profound; but woe to him who is so much as suspected of any such thing! he is ruined to all intents and purposes.

Every great man, who has dared to shew his parts and understanding, has suffered the loss of life or liberty.

Here are a set of idle ignorant men, whose province it is, to examine the productions of the press; and all such productions, which their incapacity does not resist, they anathematise.

Besides their natural insufficiency, a more important motive is, to hinder the formation of the national genius; for, should the understanding once clear up, all would be lost. Mental blindness must be kept up, or monkish despotism falls to the ground.

This despotism Spain may thank for the little progress she has made in politics, arts and sciences.

Howeve,

However favourable the climate may be for dissipating the general ignorance, the physical causes are never known to prevail against public prejudice.

LETTER XLII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Pekin.

London.

WERT thou at London, and to see the king of England, thou wouldst think he had no kingdom, so little is there of that splendour about him, with which kings of other countries are environed. His usual state is a coach and pair, and two footmen; and when he rides out, there's sometimes only a single equerry. Every little mandarin at China has a greater retinue. He is no less moderate and plain in his household than in his external appearance.

George the III^d, the present sovereign, perhaps from an opinion that St. James's palace was too large for his majesty, has purchased a little house at the end of the Park, where he now spends most of his time. Thou knowest our august emperor's summer-house: well, this royal palace is just such a thing.

Concerning this a great deal may be said *pro* and *con*. I shall not pretend to give my judgment: it might besides puzzle a more skilful politician; for, though the other European potentates are in the right to affect show and magnificence, those of England are in the right not to do so. Should a Paris politician say, that the king of France's splendour is a part of his power, a London politician may affirm that the moderation of the king of Great-Britain constitutes his: should the former add, that his monarchy requires splendour in the sovereign, the latter may reply, that in the kingdom of England there must be no such thing.

For solving this question I don't know but the best way may be, to recur to the political constitution.

Equality and moderation in expence are the very

soul of a monarchical republic. In England the power of the state is in the nation, and not in the king. A throne is only a figure, a representation of it: now an English monarch affecting pomp and splendour would represent it too strongly; he would transgress that equality which is the support of the constitution: his glitter would dazzle eyes which were used to see nothing beyond moderation, and thus throw every thing into disorder and confusion.

LETTER XLIII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THE Reformation, to be sure, was of great advantage to this kingdom; but I do not know whether it was not carried too far.

I could almost say that the French are too much Christians, and the English not enough. The European nations seem to scorn limits in every thing, running into extremities.

The Eucharist and the saints have been ejected out of the English religion, but without substituting any thing in lieu of them; which occasions a void in the worship here.

A difference should be made between that heap of superfluous ceremonies, which alienate the mind from the true worship of God, and those holy observances which feed and exalt real devotion.

We are zealous for things of daily practice, and as indifferent to those which seldom come in our way. Hence it is that the Jews and Mahometans, having abundance of external rites, are so tenacious of their religion; whereas savages, having few or no such rites, easily change.

The Roman religion is too much clogged with ceremonies; and, perhaps, that of England is too bare of them. Here the Deity is freely dealt with; they put themselves to no inconveniency for worshipping him. They assist at the public service on Sundays; but as to the

the rest of the week, they no more mind frequenting God's temple than if he had none: a great many even omit going on Sundays, as if they had both altar and idol at home. They read a few chapters of a book, which they call the Bible; and this is the whole of their Sunday's worship.

Not that the churches are not open, and prayers said in the other days of the week; but it is only the lame and the blind, and such as have nothing else to do but to pray, who make up the congregation.

By this coldness in the ordinary practices of religion, the believers of this sect are in the way to infidelity; and from thence to atheism is but a short step.

Here the worship has no connection with the manners; the vices and virtues are totally independent of the articles of religion. The system of the government and a certain political and civil morality uphold the state: Christianity is practised here quite abstractedly from any tenets or rites. I do not see but, occasionally, England could almost do without any religion.

LETTER XLIV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Pekin.

London.

ENGLAND, said the Baronet lately to me, has established a system which cannot but be a great incentive to military qualities, being founded on interest, the most powerful *mobile* of the human breast. By this system all prizes taken from the enemy become the property of the captors: likewise the moveables of all conquests are to belong to them.

The courage of some officers in this last war has been estimated to have gained them no less than a hundred thousand pounds sterling. Now this, thou seest, must give a great intrinsic value to military abilities.

It may be presumed that these late examples will induce great numbers to put on the sword; for, of all emulations, none comes up to that of money. The heroes of our nation, who, on all occasions, have shewn a noble contempt of life, will not now shew the like contempt of riches.

It is rather to be apprehended, that this trade of heroism may affect other professions, and we may come to have too many dealers in glory.

Those brave nations, added he, who antiently conquered the world, were strangers to this venality in the military art: the glory of performing noble actions was a reward, which they would not have exchanged for all the money in the world.

Every person ought to be satisfied with the pleasure of serving his country; the advantage of the conquest ought to be general, and the glory of it personal: but most of the regulations in Europe tend to destroy those very virtues, on which the governments are founded.

LETTER XLV.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

THE day after, the Baronet calling on me, began as follows: To go on with my last subject, I think our government, in giving up the moveables of conquered provinces to the general officers, has done more than it can warrant; they are the property of the common-wealth; and this is sacred: to alienate it, is really defrauding the people. It is they who pay the whole charge of the war; and to them should belong, not only the advantages of the conquests, but likewise of all its appurtenances.

Any territory conquered from the enemy, ought to be united to the crown, and the moveables deposited in the public treasury, as a compensation for past imposts, or to prevent additional ones; otherwise the people are left without any hopes of relief; which must either dispirit or enrage them.

War

War is the soldier's natural state: hardships, distresses, and dangers, are its consequence.

For several ages the military men in Europe made war at their own expence; the inhabitants of towns all the while paying little or nothing. Then, indeed, the soldiery may be said to have a right to the booty; but, fortune not being always on their side, they sold that title to sovereigns, in consideration of a regular pay; that is, they thereby renounced all manner of right to the moveables of conquered countries.

When the plunder, taken in war, used to be divided among the Roman soldiers, they received no pay from the state; but on the appointment of pay, the booty became the public property, and the military men had not the least claim or title to it.

Every government, to be sure, may reward a subject who has performed some signal action, or done important service to the state; but such rewards should be posts, titles, honours, and never the public money.

LETTER XLVI.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

WHAT I have said to thee elsewhere concerning the resolutions of the English parliament, holds good in regard to the speeches made there. When one party has got the majority, the harangues of the other always come too late. The elocution of these English orators only agitates the air: they are, however heard; for in England every one has freedom of speech: nay, more, they are admired, and their arguments allowed to be convincing; but the opposite party still go on their own way.

This brings to my mind a little story I have read somewhere in France; which, though very remote from my subject, is not without some relation to it.

A gentleman, being in want of money, went to a very exorbitant usurer, who, having heard his business,

took him to church with him. The preacher's subject happened to be usury, and he gave such a lively portraiture of that vice, that the usurer himself was struck with it. After sermon, turning to the gentleman who came to borrow money of him, "Sir," said he, "this is noble preaching indeed : never did man speak more to the purpose : he has done his duty incomparably well ; let us go likewise, and dispatch our business."

So the members of the court party, after the elaborate harangues of those in the opposition, might say : Those gentlemen talk finely ; they have discharged their duty ; let us now discharge ours.

Though these fine speeches never effect a change in measures, yet one thing, and that no trifle, is to be learned from them ; which is, that a state may be acquainted with every remedy and preservative against corruption, at the very time that it suffers corruption to prey upon its very vitals.

LETTER XLVII.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, at London.

Madrid.

THE police of this kingdom is now become one of the principal objects of the government's care ; the prince himself attends to it. At present, people may travel in Spain ; the roads begin to be practicable and convenient : it is no longer necessary to take house and furniture with one, as formerly was the case ; inns being set up on the road, where strangers are entertained, paying according to what fare they require.

Madrid already looks like an European city, having been repaired and embellished.

But this is beginning the reformation of a state where it should end ; and I could wish that kings would trace great abuses to their very source, leaving the inferior cares of the police to their officers, and these to make a report

a report of their proceedings to the sovereign at his leisure; I mean, that, in government, the principal should always take the lead of the accessaries.

LETTER XLVIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Pekin.

London.

THE English projectors go farther than those of any other country in the world. A British politician, who is pleased sometimes to let me into his designs on Europe, lately shewed me a plan for making a German prince the greatest monarch in the world.

Not a few persons have proposed the taking from certain over-grown European potentates a part of their dominion; but my acquaintance's project amounts to nothing less than stripping twenty sovereigns at once; and all this only for a hundred pounds sterling to be paid to the author of such an important scheme.

A Plan of Aggrandisement proposed to the King of Prussia.

"SIR,

"Your Majesty has carried on a war for several years, only to keep one province, whilst, with the same troops, you might have conquered the finest country in the universe: I mean Italy, which is defenceless, and may be taken by the first European prince who will set about it. A single campaign would do your Majesty's business.

"As to the ecclesiastical state, your troops need only shew themselves: a train of artillery, consisting of two culverines, would frighten Rome into a surrender: the first fire would put the troops of the holy see to flight, and thus your Majesty would become master of the queen of the universe. After taking possession of the Capitol and the castle of St. Angelo, the pope should be sent to Avignon with
"the

“ the title of governor of Carpentras and the Venaisin.
 “ John the XXIII^d was not above making it his residence, and found it sufficiently large for him : why
 “ then should it be too small for a pope in these times ?

“ The conquest of Naples is nearly as easy, only
 “ changing the culverines into cannon : it would,
 “ however, be proper to have a body of troops ready
 “ in case of need ; for your Majesty makes little account of reliques, and the Neapolitans would rather
 “ die than their Saint *Genaro* should fall into the hands
 “ of an heretic prince.

“ Your Majesty, on mastering their city, will send
 “ away the king of Naples to Sicily, securing that
 “ kingdom to him and his heirs for ever.

“ In your return from Naples and Rome, your
 “ Majesty will, by the way, take St. Marino, Bologna,
 “ and Ferrara.

“ The republic of Venice is decrepit with age,
 “ being fourteen hundred years old ; so it is time an
 “ end were made of her. A single company of your
 “ guards will disperse and abolish its senate, and send
 “ all the people to Corfú, Zant, and Cephalonia.

“ Ten thousand men will suffice for laying siege to
 “ Genoa, and obliging the republic to ship herself for
 “ Corsica. Every body knows how very desirous she
 “ is to have that people under her command : now
 “ this will be a fine opportunity for her to go in person, and subdue those rebels.

“ A subaltern officer, with twenty picked men, will
 “ make himself master of Modena, Reggio and Corregio ; and, as the sovereign of this petty state is
 “ very fond of delegated authority, suppose he was
 “ made governor of Silesia.

“ The conquest of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla,
 “ requires a larger detachment : this will make sure
 “ work of them, and without any injury to the reigning prince ; for Don Philip, being extremely fond
 “ of Spain, and liking Italy as little, will be very glad
 “ of this opportunity of returning into his own country.

“ The

"The only difficulty lies in Piedmont; its sovereign
 "being a sagacious, vigilant, and spirited prince :
 "however, he is not unconquerable; and I am inclin-
 "ed to think, that Emanuel will rather withdraw to
 "Sardinia or Savoy, than stand a battle with your
 "forces.

"As to the Milanese, the dutchy of Mantua and
 "Tuscany, the house of Austria will readily exchange
 "them with you for Silesia. Thus, here is your
 "Majesty sole sovereign of Italy."

LETTER XLIX.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

THE European women are inconceivably vain :
 pride almost chokes them, so that they can scarce
 breathe; and it is the men who puff them up in this
 manner. How indeed can they be otherwise than
 haughty, when the other sex is continually homaging
 them, and laying at their feet fortune and honours,
 titles and dignities? The scope of kings, in their
 turbulent efforts to be great, is to become mean with
 them: they may trample on sceptres and crowns.

Though the English, in general, be not at leisure
 for any continued gallantry, what little time they give
 to it they make the most of: the blind unreserved
 submission they pay to the sex, is downright servitude.

The other day I saw, in company, a Briton very
 lofty and supercilious in his carriage; but it seems he
 is servilely humble and pliant to a shrimp of a woman
 who has got an ascendancy over him; for, when the
 English become slaves to women, they are more so than
 any people I know. However it be, this creature
 uses him like a negro, often confining him to his room
 for a fortnight; and then he must not offer to stir
 without having first obtained her leave: I verily be-
 lieve that, were she to command him to hang himself,
 he would immediately comply. This the Europeans
 call gallantry, or having a respect for the fair-sex.

The

The more I compare our customs with those of Europe, the more am I persuaded, that our legislature, in prescribing the recluseness of women as a capital law, shewed themselves better acquainted with the human heart, than those of Europe: they have thereby prevented, as I have said elsewhere, a multitude of disorders and evils, with which all this part of the world is over-run.

LETTER L.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

THOUGH the Jesuits have been expelled France, the letters from Paris say, that the king has not yet been assassinated. The same advices add, that of all the members of the parliament, who banished them out of the kingdom, there was no account, at the departure of the last courier, of so much as one having been poisoned. Some people go so far as to flatter themselves, that there will be no civil war, and that the nation will get rid of that hated society without bloodshed.

They who feared for the monarchy and the people, highly applaud this moderation; for when people, under a bad predicament, do not all the mischief they can, it is accounted a kind of virtue.

This affair however has not totally passed over in silence, as appears from the following articles of complaint, which have been privately handed about.

“ I. That the expulsion of these men out of the kingdom is a direct insult to the person of God, and a crime against the prerogatives of Heaven.

“ II. That, besides being a breach of the divine, it is no less a violation of human laws, by which no body or community is to be banished, unless manifestly convicted of very great abuses.

“ III. That the terms of the act for banishing the society out of France, are vague, general, void of

“ all

“ all foundation, and betray a clandestine and long
 “ premeditated revenge.

“ IV. That it is violating the rights of hospitality,
 “ which should be sacred in behalf of those who cause
 “ no disorder in the general society, of which they are
 “ members.

“ V. That no secular court has a right to banish
 “ any ecclesiastical body, unless for capital offences,
 “ and these averred by all the members of that body.

“ VI. That the pernicious maxims of some of their
 “ members do not amount to such a trespass, as to
 “ banish the whole society; that in societies faults are
 “ personal.

“ VII. That the seizure of their possessions is a
 “ manifest robbery; that these possessions belong
 “ neither to them nor the state; that they are, in
 “ reality, only a trust, or pledge, committed to their
 “ society, and the alienation of them is a flagrant
 “ injury both to the dead and the living, &c. &c.”

I believe it is only in states where certain bodies are
 allowed to assume too much power, that they dare
 talk at this rate. The societies of bonzes in Europe
 are always for arrogating to themselves privileges dis-
 tinct from those of the sovereign; that is, they would
 be wholly independent of the state or civil power.

LETTER LI.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

THE duke, who, as plenipotentiary from France,
 signed the treaty between the two crowns, is set
 out for Versailles; and his successor is a young man,
 a captain of dragoons, with equal rank and the same
 titles. This is being made a plenipotentiary sword in
 hand.

This military minister is, it seems, abrupt and cho-
 leric, and talks much of fighting. I suppose he places
 bravery above the negotiator's qualities. With such
 a happy turn for being a soldier, thou mayest well
 conceive,

conceive, he will not be very long a minister : his fall indeed is daily expected ; but it is not so much his fault as that of his employers. I told you before, that France has no seminaries for ministers. A mere novice, just entered on the world, shall frequently be made a plenipotentiary, or an ambassador.

LETTER LII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

A Person has been taken up here for publishing a-buse against the king, in a periodical paper called the North-Britain.

The offence was directly against the crown, affirming in print, that the sovereign had told a lye to his people.

After committing him to a prison called the Tower, the question was, whether he could be detained there. The case undergoing several discussions, it appeared, or at least it was so imagined, that the prisoner had not transgressed the limits of English freedom ; and that his insulting the sovereign was intirely agreeable to the British constitution : for, in Europe, every government has its form, and this has a very considerable influence on the public sentiments.

For instance, the English think the king lyes when he does not speak truth ; whereas in France, Spain, Portugal, and all the despotic states, it is a received maxim, that the king speaks truth even when he grossly lyes.

As this pamphleteer could not be detained, he was discharged ; but the first thing he did, after being his own man, was to write to the ministers, that they were robbers, and threatened to have them taken up as such.

This second invective being likewise canvassed, it was found that he might literally make use of those words, the ministry having, during his detention, ordered his house to be searched, and his papers brought away,

away, now the law of England looks on those who take, or who order a person's effects to be taken away, as robbers.

These invectives of a subject against the king and his ministers, will doubtless appear strange to thee, and I am far from approving them; but there is more than one government in Europe, where such things may not be so very much amiss.

The person confined was a member of parliament; that is, a representative of the body in which the sovereign power is lodged. Now, could the ministry take up members of parliament, they would soon have the whole parliament in durance, and imitate Cromwell, who, turning them out one after another, shut the door and carried away the key with him.

LETTER LIII.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

MY Paris landlord, who is a very good sort of a man, though something of a politician, promised me, at my coming away, if any news worth our court's notice happened in that city, he would immediately acquaint me with it.

I had for some time given over all thoughts of his correspondence, when yesterday I received the following letter with this superscription.

" To Mr. Cham-pi-pi, Director-General of the moral and political Reflections on the present State of Europe.

" S I R,

Paris.

" Since our last treaty of peace with England, a multitude of bears, or rather savages, are continually flocking hither.

" These bears are not quadrupeds, like those in the woods; they stand upright on their feet, have a body,

" dy,

“ dy, arms, and hands, like reasonable creatures, so
“ that one would almost take them for men.

“ These savages are likewise clothed in the European
“ manner, except the shape of their cloths being under
“ the armpits, so that their coat looks pretty much
“ like our priest’s cassoc.

“ You have, to be sure, taken notice, in your Po-
“ litical Reflections, that we Frenchmen have little
“ slips of very fine linen, called ruffles, at the end of
“ our shirt sleeves ; whereas these grotesque creatures,
“ at the end of their arms, have nothing but their bare
“ hands.

“ I suppose, in the country of those savages, a
“ large head is looked upon as a token of eminent
“ wisdom ; for they endeavour to make it appear out of
“ size, by wearing bob-wigs of an enormous ampli-
“ tude.

“ They are very much given to staring with their
“ large dull eyes, and gape at us with such a block-
“ ish astonishment, as if they had never seen men be-
“ fore. As to their dialect, I can say nothing of it.
“ They hiss indeed ; but whether they speak, I know
“ not. They who converse with them say, that they
“ have something of an impediment in their speech,
“ and are very much subject to be dumb, being some-
“ times round a table four hours together, without
“ speaking a single word.

“ These same savages are excessively fond of strong
“ beer, wine, and spirituous liquors ; and smoak a
“ great deal. They are very quarrelsome and boiste-
“ rous in their cups, and fall on one another like
“ dogs.

“ They know little of the sword or sabre : their
“ offensive and defensive arms are their nails ; instead
“ of killing one another in their quarrels, like the
“ French, they only tear out one another’s eyes.

“ These animals always herd together, seldom
“ or never associating with the other breasts of the
“ country.

“ The generality of them have no relish for good
company :

“ company : it is only loose women and opera doxies
“ who can tame them.

“ However, they are very well received here, and
“ the more the better ; for they bring from their
“ country little pieces of gold, which the Parisians
“ are very fond of. They make no long stay in this
“ city : the play-house wenches soon send them pack-
“ ing to Montpellier by way of a change of air, that
“ of Paris affecting their nerves, and almost taking
“ from them the use of their legs.

“ Not to keep you any longer in suspense, these
“ bears, or savages, are Englishmen ; but I forgot that
“ you are at London, and thus in the great menagery
“ of those brutes. I am, &c.”

Since my knowing France and England, I have often reflected on the natural antipathy between these two nations, who, besides more sensible injuries, are continually ridiculing and exposing one another in satyrical prints ; and I really find this enmity arises from physical, moral, and political causes ; and consequently is now beyond remedy.

An Englishman is saturnine, a Frenchman sprightly ; one thinks much, a little reflection serves the other ; the former has sense, the latter wit. The government of England is republican, that of France monarchical ; the Englishman thinks himself a freeman, the Frenchman imagines himself to be a slave ; one makes but a small people, the other constitutes a great nation. Rivalry in trade, arts and sciences, &c. I omit, the premises being fully enough to perpetuate a mutual contempt and animosity.

LET-

LETTER LIV.

*The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi,
at London.*

Madrid.

THE people, among whom I at present live, are intolerably lofty and proud, though what they have to be proud of I cannot for my life perceive.

In all Europe there are not such ugly men as the Spaniards; their natural complexion does not differ half a degree from that of the African Moora. As to those noble sciences which distinguish other Christian nations, their ignorance is amazing; and little do they know of any thing at all. The poverty of the Spaniards is indigence itself; the generality of them are starving: their frugality is a consequence of the climate, or rather of their idleness; and still they want common necessities.

All the several branches of political and civil power are in a total disorder; not one part of the administration is rightly managed. The national equilibrium is lost: in strength it is not in the least proportional to any other state; so that the very weakest in Europe might make an easy conquest of it.

The prince being absolutely despotic, the people of course are slaves, and not only to the king, but to the clergy: on one hand, policy keeps them down; and on the other, religion depresses them. A nation must have a prodigious stock of natural haughtiness, to be thus proud amidst so many circumstances of wretchedness and ignominy.

LET-

LETTER LV.

*The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na,
at Peking.*

London.

THE ambition of petty princes is come too late. The great potentates of Europe are established irreversibly: their power is of such antiquity, that it is grown into prescription: there is no annulling it. They may be withstood for some years, and victories gained against them; but that is all that can be done. They insensibly recover, and, in the end, the superior will always prove too hard for an inferior force.

France, to be sure, has suffered greatly in this war; but still it remains a vast body: the house of Austria has likewise received several checks; but this has not at all diminished its former strength, which is still greater than that of its enemy, with all his recent advantages over it. A few years of repose will restore these bodies to their pristine vigour. They may be out of breath, but there is no destroying them.

George and Frederic make a great noise about their victories. Far be it from me to offer to detract from their glory; yet it is certain they owe it to the lethargy of the two above-mentioned powers, who would have crushed them with the bare weight of their greatness, had not a weak administration impeded the exertion of their strength.

To glory in those exploits is like boasting of having beaten two sick men.

Though a Chinese, I tremble for these two little states, when I consider that the least new disposition in second causes may change the whole face of their fortune; and two diminutive mortals, a few feet high, may overthrow the system of their greatness.

Let but an able minister arise in France, and England sinks into its original insignificancy: one great genius
in

in the council of Vienna, and there's an end of Prussia.

It is said, that if a man, called Maurice, had not died before the war, matters would have turned out quite otherwise for France. Politicians even go farther, and tell you that, had he been living, Frederic would never have dared to invade Saxony. Here the revolutions of states generally depend on the existence of one single man.

The calculation is clear, and not to be overthrown by any closet-combinations: it may be proved, by the rule of numbers, in matter of power the chief geometrical demonstration, that twenty-five millions of able-bodied men are superior to ten millions.

England, it is said, is under a good administration; but France need only mend hers. The land of Britain is very fertile; let France only increase its tillage. And as for Great-Britain's numerous navy, France need only form one to be a match for it.

These different administrations are so far from being a state-secret, that their notoriety lays them open to all nations. France may practise them as well as England, and perhaps even to greater advantage, having more resources: the same reasoning holds good for the house of Austria.

LETTER LVI.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THERE is, as it were, a seed of division in the English nation, which ever obstructs public tranquillity.

England, after making a peace with France, is fallen out with itself. The great men are resigning their posts, leave the court, and withdraw to their seats. The commonalty likewise complain loudly. All these heart-burnings proceed from his present Majesty's having chosen to himself a minister, whom he has determined to maintain in his post. The rub

is not so much at the minister's promotion, but rather that the king, by his own choice, promoted him ; which, here, is looked on as an infringement on public liberty.

The point is to know, whether the king of England has a right to be as independant as the meanest of his subjects. Some affirm that, by the constitution of Great-Britain, for the people to be free, the king must be a slave.

The reason the English give is, that such was the model of the constitution, when they made the tender of the crown to a foreign prince ; and that he might either take or leave it.

The Europeans have a saying, that compacts make laws, and laws make kings ; and George the III^d for his part says, that he will not be the chief slave in his kingdom, that slavery was not made for sovereigns, that he insists on having equal rights with his subjects.

The decision of this question does not belong to me : however, it may in general be said, that the power of kings, ruling over independent nations, cannot be too much limited.

The constitution's being free signifies nothing : on giving up the least of its privileges, the monarchical prerogative will soon come to establish itself beyond repeal.

Despotism is a smooth file, imperceptibly preying on the chains of freedom. A people receding from its rights, at the long-run, is quite stunned at finding itself a slave, amidst so many means of making itself otherwise.

LETTER LVII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

YESTERDAY the English parliament met for the first time this year. It opened with a weighty affair, on which all the representatives of the nation were to deliberate. This was neither peace nor war, nor how to ease the people from the afflictive load of taxes. A more profound and important article of politics was brought on the carpet, in two propositions: I. Whether the person, who advised the king to make the last peace, should not be called to account. II. Whether the sovereign was at liberty to chuse whom he pleased, to consult with on the means of making his people happy.

The debate was very long; these two questions, as no doubt thou seest, being very intricate and perplexing, so that it was late at night before the members gave over speaking.

It would have surprised thee to see the artifices and turns of wit, made use of by the speakers, to prove that they were right in a point in which they themselves were convinced that they were not so.

Some sittings after, a senator, noted for a fine flow of words and an emphatic elocution, but to whom a long and troublesome administration has left only the gout and the use of speech, harangued the house four hours without intermission, and without settling any one point.

It were to be wished, that the resigners were dumb, as a proof that they are quite easy about their dismission; otherwise, they may be thought to have no less ambition in their retreat, than when in the post which they prudently resigned, knowing they were to hold it no longer.

LET-

LETTER LVIII.

*The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi,
at London.*

Madrid.

THE Spanish stage is a transcript of the nation, even in its gravity ; its most comical pieces are taken from the articles of faith. It is not vices or foibles that are exposed here ; religion itself is exhibited, and their most awful mysteries are personated by vagrants.

I have seen Christ crucified theatrically, and his dying for the sins of men made a farce of. A buffoon acts the part of Jesus, and a poultry merry-andrew that of the Eternal Father.

Sometimes legions of angels make their appearance ; but these angels, being Spaniards, are so swarthy, that one would rather take them for devils.

Besides angels, archangels, and cherubims, they have also theatrical saints, the chief qualification of whom is a droll phiz. I saw there a St. Anthony, who being hired to make people laugh, can hardly be imagined to have spent his life in fasting, prayers, and mortification.

The St. Peter of this theatre is a jovial blade, who spends most of his leisure time in the tavern ; and I was told, that one evening, when the whole celestial hierarchy were to appear on the stage, towards the close of the drama, he had left the keys of heaven at a tippling-house ; so that all was at a stand, God had the saints being shut up in paradise, from whence they could not get out. Amidst the reflections which crowd on me every where, I shall only mention one : a people thus blending things sacred and prophane, and making a farce of religion, in so doing deprives itself of the only means it had to become virtuous.

LETTER LIX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Peking.

London.

THE following piece is no great matter ; and I don't know whether I should have sent it thee, were it not for thy curiosity in every thing which relates to the character of this nation. The Baronet put it into my hands, and, by its prolixity, I should take it to be his ; for he writes a deal more than he speaks.

“ History of the Civil Wars of the English Stage.

“ A celebrated European author says, that when
“ men came to be united in societies, they forgot
“ their weakness, and fell to making war : another
“ thinks, that battles are as ancient as the world itself.
“ As to the wars of the English theatre, they unquestionably may be dated from the very first formation of
“ the theatre.

“ Since king William's time, a great number of
“ pitched battles have been fought on this stage, besides private encounters. The first I shall make
“ mention of, in these historical memoirs, was towards
“ the end of queen Anne's reign. The signals of the
“ battle were two boxes of the ear given on the stage,
“ one received by a player who was living not long
“ since, and the other given by that actor to a gentleman, who paid the debt of nature a long time ago.
“ This quarrel first arose from so small a matter, that
“ two European princes would scarce have thought it
“ worth while to go to war about it.

“ Such of the gentleman's friends and acquaintance,
“ who were that night at the play, immediately flew to
“ the stage, where the first hostilities had begun ; and,
“ here drew up, sword in hand. The players party
“ as the weakest, concluding that it would be impossible

“ possible to maintain the stage, left the field of battle
“ to the enemy. Now the storm of war began to rage
“ in its utmost fury ; the scenes, boxes, and seats,
“ immediately went to ruin ; the whole theatre was
“ to have followed, and, perhaps, the house itself
“ had been set on fire, when a band of watchmen, led
“ by a player, came on the stage, and laying hold of
“ the rioters, carried them before a justice of peace,
“ where an amicable treaty was signed. Thus was
“ this threatening war happily concluded, almost as
“ soon as it began.

“ All the other broils, probably, would have had
“ the like happy end ; but the mischief was, that
“ theatrical Whigs and Tories sprung up, and the
“ watchmen lifted on both sides : farther, the very
“ justices of peace took part in the commotions. Then
“ each party proceeding to a formal declaration of
“ war, and breathing nothing but ruin and slaughter,
“ all pacific overtures became impracticable.

“ The war which broke out at the Little theatre at
“ the Hay-market, in the reign of George II. was still
“ more furious, and several pitched battles fought
“ with the greatest obstinacy. The cause of this second
“ war was the government’s licensing a company of
“ French players, when several national theatres had
“ been prohibited. These foreign vagrants had put
“ at the head of their bills, in large characters, By
“ His Majesty’s Permission and Authority : this was
“ enough to set an English populace in a flame, and it
“ was resolved to hinder them from acting. However
“ insignificant this disturbance may appear at first
“ sight, it turned on a point of high importance, no-
“ thing less than whether the king’s authority was
“ something, or nothing.

“ The negotiations for settling this affair having
“ failed, each party published its manifesto, and no-
“ tice was given of the day of battle in the public pa-
“ pers. Several foreign ministers were at the house
“ very early, to see who got the better, the king or
“ the people ; and this was, perhaps, the first time
“ that ever ambassadors were seen at a battle.

“ The government had directed two justices of the
“ peace to be in the pit, and there avail themselves of
“ a short interval to bring the people to sign a capitulation. One of them, before the piece began, made
“ several motions for a suspension of arms, first soothing, then threatening ; and at length, raising his
“ voice, he declared, that he was come there, as a
“ magistrate, to support the king’s authority : that
“ his Majesty would have the play acted ; that, for
“ this purpose, he had with him a company of guards,
“ and that the first who offered to oppose the acting
“ should be laid hold of.

“ This speech produced no good effect : the audience answered, that neither the laws nor the king
“ had any power over them, to hinder the applauding
“ or damning both play and actors. The affair began
“ about six in the evening, and the signal of battle
“ was given by a whistle instead of a cannon. The
“ curtain being drawn up, the actors made their appearance between two files of soldiers, with their
“ bayonets fixed to the muzzles of their pieces. At
“ this the company, who were not come to fight
“ against bayonets, asked the justices of peace, by
“ whose order the guards were posted there ? Whether the English, instead of being freemen, were so
“ far to be controuled, as to have soldiers to awe
“ them in their diversions ? These questions being too
“ delicate for an immediate answer, the justices said
“ they knew nothing of the soldiers being on the stage,
“ and desired the serjeant to take them off.

“ Now a frightful din began in the pit ; particularly some mouth instruments, brought for the purpose
“ made such a horrid noise, that certainly, if hell had
“ concerts, there could not be a more diabolical
“ music. The actors made off quite scared, and some
“ grotesque dancers, hoping by their droll appearance
“ to suspend the tumult, met with no better reception.

“ At these boisterous proceedings one of the justices,
“ waving his hand to the audience, desired they would
“ forbear a while, and hear him : he then formally
“ declared,

“ declared, that if they did not desist from such riot-
“ ing, and behave with decency, he would read the
“ king’s proclamation against mobs, and his licence
“ to the house, and, in case a due regard was not
“ paid to his authority, he would immediately go to
“ St. James’s, and acquaint his Majesty with the
“ sedition.

“ The house, instead of being intimidated by this
“ menace, bawled out, No agreement, no capitulation.
“ It might easily be foreseen which party would
“ get the better ; for, as it depended on making the
“ most noise, and the opposite party consisting of
“ coachmen and chairmen, their vociferations would
“ naturally drown the squeaks of the feeble courtiers.
“ The players endeavoured several times to perform,
“ but the pit as often renewed their outrages : their
“ obstinacy increasing rather than abating, the curtain
“ was dropped, and thus the people remained masters
“ of the field.

“ Some years after, a fresh war was kindled by o-
“ ther comedians of the same nation, protected by the
“ government, and on that very account hated by the
“ people. In England, as in other European states,
“ popular commotions would soon subside, were they
“ not upheld by the great : several lords engaged in
“ this third war, with much animosity on both sides,
“ and a day of battle was again denounced.

“ My Lord Tren—am commanded the king’s
“ troops, and Sir Ge. V——te those of the people.
“ These second actors met with the same rough treat-
“ ment as the former : at their appearance the house
“ rung with hisses and frightful squallings, accompa-
“ nied with a deluge of oranges, stones, and even
“ knives, which immediately dispersed the actors.
“ The play designed for that night was, The Uneasi-
“ ness of Riches ; but that really acted might be call-
“ ed, The Uneasiness of the Pit.

“ Whilst the two main bodies were engaged, and
“ the generals of both parties animated their troops
“ with an intrepidity suitable to the great occasion,
“ smaller parties were kicking and cuffing one another

“ in the galleries and passages. Whether the Royalists
 “ had improved themselves in this way of fighting
 “ since the last action, or the people’s usual spirit failed
 “ them, from a consciousness of the badness of their
 “ cause, the actors went through the play, and thus
 “ retrieved their former defeat. The action was ra-
 “ ther terrible than bloody : both armies, having
 “ forgot their swords, plied one another only with
 “ sticks ; so that there was none killed, and the da-
 “ mage consisted in about five or six broken heads,
 “ with half a dozen wigs burnt.

“ Most great events originally spring from trifling
 “ causes : so this war, which again set the populace
 “ and royalty at odds, was owing to a French adven-
 “ turer, a descendant of one of the most ancient base
 “ families in France, his ancestors having worn the
 “ livery, hereditarily from father to son, even since
 “ the deluge, and he himself had worn it at Paris.

“ In the want of a fortune of his own, he endea-
 “ voured to raise one at the expence of every body
 “ whom he thought fit for his purpose : he was
 “ thoroughly versed in the qualifications necessary to
 “ make his way ; he had been trained up to Mercury’s
 “ trade, and by his dexterity several show-glasses
 “ were missing : afterwards he contrived three infam-
 “ ous bankruptcies. Never was man possessed in a
 “ higher degree of the endowments which form great
 “ adventurers : he was full of lies, daring, inventive,
 “ and of a most brazen effrontery. Lord Stafford
 “ having told him at Paris, that a French play-house
 “ would answer at London, he picked up some paltry
 “ strollers, who were out of business, and came over
 “ to London, where he talked as big as if he had
 “ brought with him the flower of the hotel de Bour-
 “ gogne.

“ On the miscarriage of his theatre, his strollers
 “ arrested him ; yet, so far from being disheartened,
 “ he found means, in his obscure prison, to lay
 “ White’s Chocolate-house under contribution of
 “ seven or eight hundred pounds sterling, and thus re-
 “ turned to France in a better condition than ever.

“ The

“ The fourth war of the English theatre is rather a
“ matter of laughter than of grief or detestation. The
“ Britons are naturally fond of any thing out of the
“ way ; they will hardly cast an eye on what is sim-
“ ple and natural : it must be striking images which
“ engage their attention. A person, to suit their taste,
“ advertised, that such a day would be exhibited, at
“ the new theatre in the Hay-market, a thing which
“ past ages had never seen, and which ages to come
“ would never see : a Harlequin of the size and bigness
“ of a common man would put himself into a pint
“ bottle. This was giving the nation a show intirely
“ in its taste : for what can be more wonderful, than
“ to see a man go into a bottle, where a boy could
“ scarce thrust in one of his fingers !

“ This astonishing prodigy afforded matter of talk
“ to all the *literati*. The Royal Society of London
“ formally investigated the cause of this supernatural
“ infusion : all longed for the day mentioned in the
“ bill, that they might be ocular witnesses to such a
“ phenomenon. The house was full by three o'clock,
“ and never had it seen such an audience : princes,
“ lords, and persons of all ranks were there, particu-
“ larly chemists, as impatient to see the manner of
“ harlequin's inconceivable distillation. The minist-
“ ters of state and politicians, had been the first to
“ take places. Such an experiment, indeed, might be
“ of use to the state, especially, in war time, for the
“ embarkation of soldiers ; since, if an Harlequin
“ could get into a pint bottle so might a soldier ; as
“ to the horse-guards, the bottles must be a little
“ bigger : now this would have been a great saving
“ in transports and ships of war.

“ This experiment concerned every class in society.
“ Cowards, who, according to the common saying,
“ can creep into the eye of a needle, on seeing their
“ enemy, would immediately have hid themselves in a
“ bottle ; the same may be said of lovers, whom some-
“ times it behoves to be invisible, or to take up but
“ little room ; the same also of debtors, and these
“ make a large number in London ; for, at the very

“ first sight of a bailiff, they would immediately have
“ dived into their bottle.

“ By the bill, this performance of Harlequin was to
“ be at six ; but it had struck seven, and no appear-
“ ance of him. At first it was apprehended, that hav-
“ ing eat nothing for a week, to make himself the thin-
“ ner, he might have fainted away, and, on his reco-
“ very, he would come and perform according to ex-
“ pectation. After waiting some time longer, the com-
“ pany grew impatient, and called out to know why
“ Harlequin did not appear. They were then informed,
“ that Harlequin, instead of jumping into a bottle
“ had made off with the money at the door, and might
“ now be swallowing bottles.

“ Here the audience, not reflecting on their stupidi-
“ ty in giving credit to such an impossibility, vented
“ their resentment on the theatre, demolishing every
“ part of it.

“ The last battle which I shall mention, relates to
“ the emperor of China, though fought at London,
“ in Drury-Lane play-house. About sixty subjects
“ of that great prince were come from Pekin to enter-
“ tain the English with a Chinese interlude ; but,
“ courtly as their intentions were, and though their
“ scheme did honour to the nation, they were insulted
“ by the populace. But laying aside figures, and
“ speaking in the plainness of a faithful historian, it
“ was the misfortune of most of these Chinese to be
“ French.

“ A Chinese interlude was the cause of this war :
“ the politicians attributed it to the variances which
“ then prevailed between the two nations ; but it a-
“ rose, in reality, from the inveterate animosities be-
“ tween the two English theatres of Drury-Lane and
“ Covent-Garden.

“ The bills promised to the public a spectacle in-
“ tirely new, in the figure of the dances, the richness
“ of the dresses, the magnificence of the decorations,
“ and the number of actors, and thus bid fair to put
“ five or six thousand pounds in the managers pockets.
“ Had this taken place at Drury-Lane, there would
“ have

“ have been an end of Covent-Garden ; which put
“ the former on leaving no stone unturned to overfet
“ this novelty.

“ The English ftage is, in fome refpects, an image
“ of the European courts. When two princes are on
“ the point of a rupture, and intend to come to a
“ war, their ambaffadors are directed to propagate
“ malignant reports, which fpread the feeds of difcord
“ and confufion among the people.

“ The Covent-Garden cabal gave orders to its e-
“ miffaries, the public papers, to publish difadvanta-
“ geous reports about the interlude, that the people
“ might be prejudiced againft it: the chief heads of
“ accusation againft this Afatic entertainment were,
“ the performers being Europeans, and natural ene-
“ mies to Britain, the drefles being all of French
“ ftuffs, and the very taylors who made them up like-
“ wife French.

“ The enemies of the novelty waited two or three
“ nights to fee the event of it ; for, had it mifcarried,
“ there would have been no war ; but it took,
“ and now no peace was to be expected. Though
“ the opponents were drawn up in the pit and
“ galleries, at the firft representations, they only
“ handled their cat calls ; but the king honouring the
“ interlude with his prefence, and liking it, the Anti-
“ gallicans loft all patience, and proceeded to the moft
“ violent hoftilities, fo that a decifive battle enfued.

“ Several young lords had from the very firft, tak-
“ en part in this war on oppofite fides ; the Jacobites
“ held with the Chinefe, and the Republicans joined
“ the Antigallicans. The Chinefe army was very
“ much inferior in number to the Republican, till
“ fome of the chiefs among the former brought things
“ pretty well to a balance, by enlifting between two
“ and three hundred Irish chaimen, than whom, when
“ animated with beer and gin, Europe does not afford
“ better foldiers.

“ The fixth time of acting being fixed for a general
“ engagement, the Commonwealths men reforted to
“ the theatre, with a refolution of doing for the ftage

" Asiatics. The dancers had no sooner begun their
 " gesticulations, than the Antigallicans, with the
 " most intrepid fury, commenced hostilities against the
 " house, tearing up the benches, and breaking down
 " the partitions of their boxes ; so that every part of
 " the theatre felt their irresistible fury ; you would
 " have taken them for so many carpenters : though I
 " can hardly suppose that the English nobility, (for it
 " was the young lords who cleared their way the
 " quickest) serve an apprenticeship to this trade ; yet
 " there are no better hands in the universe for demo-
 " lishing a piece of building : half a dozen of them
 " lay all smack smooth in the twinkling of an eye.
 " What passed in the house was but inconsiderable,
 " the grand scene of action being at one of the doors ;
 " and here I could wish for a picturesque genius to
 " give an adequate description of this day, or rather
 " evening, when the contending armies acquired so
 " much glory.

" A body of Antigallicans charged a party of Chi-
 " nese ; and the action was so warm, that within a
 " few minutes no less than two hundred strokes were
 " given with canes, and returned by as many blows
 " with the fist. Each army was headed by young
 " lords, who signalized themselves greatly on this oc-
 " casion. The general action lasted above an hour ;
 " but every combatant being eager for acquiring per-
 " sonal glory, both armies broke into platoons. Then
 " it was that true bravery displayed itself, and the
 " vigour of every hero could be noticed. Number-
 " less were the achievements performed on this me-
 " morable occasion.

" Am—, an officer in the Republican army, struck
 " a Jacobite lord such a blow with his fist, as laid
 " his flimsy body sprawling on the ground. The
 " intrepid lord S—engaged a gigantic Irish chairman,
 " and gave him a fall. Sir George, who sided with
 " the Chinese interlude, run his head in the breast of
 " an Antigallican gentleman with such fury, as made
 " him cast up a great deal of blood. L—, with his
 " cane, demolished the left eye of an eminent citizen,

" who

“ who was roaring, *No Chinese ballets*. M— tripped
 “ up a merchant, who was joining in the like cry,
 “ and tumbled him flat on his back. P— flew at an
 “ Antigallican, and bit off half of one of his cheeks.
 “ B— gave a templar, who was very active on the
 “ Chinese side, such a rap on the nose, as set him a
 “ sneezing six times without taking any snuff. G—,
 “ a courtier, dashed out six of a Republican officer’s
 “ teeth. There would be no end of relating the he-
 “ roic feats performed on both sides in this important
 “ fray ; but the Antigallicans, by dint of numbers,
 “ gained a complete victory, routing and dispersing
 “ the Chinese.

“ In the mean time, fame; which delights in pub-
 “ lishing great events, had spread the report of this
 “ conflict throughout the city. The coachmen and
 “ chairmen’s wives concluding, from the known
 “ spirit of their husbands, that they were concerned
 “ in this carnage, ran to the field of battle, in order
 “ to bury them, if they found them dead, or, if only
 “ wounded, to carry them to the hospital. Some
 “ being known were removed ; others being missing,
 “ their wives went away, not a little vexed that they
 “ did not stand in need of their last kind offices.

“ The prostitutes which swarm in the precincts of
 “ Drury-Lane, were carried by curiosity to the scene
 “ of this terrible action. Polly H—, though at sup-
 “ per with company at Maltby’s bagnio, in Covent-
 “ garden, hastened to the same place : little expecting
 “ to find among the wounded her dear footman, she
 “ looked for some time at him, and when there could
 “ no longer be any doubt but it was he, she said to
 “ him in piteous accents, *What’s the matter* * * * *
 “ * * * * *

“ After the victory the Antigallican party held a
 “ council of war, in which it was determined imme-
 “ diately to lay siege to Garrick’s house in Southamp-
 “ ton-Street. In an instant the windows were all
 “ smashed with showers of stones ; and if the walls
 “ were left standing, it was because the victorious
 “ army wanted artillery and miners. History is silent

“ as to the place where this illustrious undertaker was
 “ at the time of this exigency. A private anecdote
 “ indeed says, that the great Richard had smuggled
 “ himself into a bottle.

“ Though the Republican party had gained an ab-
 “ solute victory, that of the Chinese was neither so
 “ disheartened, nor distressed, as not to put itself in a
 “ posture for renewing the war. But by the kind
 “ mediation of some neutral powers, conferences
 “ were set on foot, and in a few days the capitulation
 “ was signed on the following conditions.

“ I. That the Chinese ballet should be totally drop-
 “ ped.

“ H. That the Drury-Lane manager should ask the
 “ Antigallicans pardon.

“ This was accordingly performed, and the Chinese
 “ set out for China, or wherever they would : some
 “ nights after, the lordly Garrick came on the stage,
 “ as a suppliant, excusing himself for the great inju-
 “ ry he had done the public in preparing a magnificent
 “ spectacle for them, and thanked them for the trouble
 “ they had given themselves in breaking his win-
 “ dows.

“ A Spanish player would have died a thousand
 “ deaths, or quitted the stage, rather than have
 “ truckled in such a manner ; but in England there
 “ is a gold coin, called a guinea, which has the
 “ virtue of the river Lethe, extinguishing all remem-
 “ brance, and consequently all resentment of injuries,
 “ and easing the mind under the very worst treatment.
 “ Then this actor takes such delight in his calling,
 “ and is so very fond of management, that had he
 “ fallen a victim to popular rage, his ghost would
 “ come from the other world, and put in to be a
 “ manager again.



LETTER LX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Peking.

London.

THE Europeans are so sprightly, that they blend mirth with the most serious concerns ; I mean war. The Christian princes keep bands of martial music in their troops, and these perform whilst the armies are butchering one another : this is being merry in the midst of death.

This funeral-concert consists of trumpets, kettle-drums, hautboys, fifes, drums, &c. Formerly the violin was used, but since the invention of cannon, it has been thought to jar.

This military symphony is not every where the same ; varying according to the taste and temper of nations.

For instance, that which leads the Germans to death is grave, the English melancholy, the Prussian lofty, the Italian ludicrous, the French lively.

The times likewise vary according to the different ways of killing. There is one time for the action, and another for the retreat, &c. From what general observations I have made, I find that two armies march up to each other *Piano*, begin the action *Patitiquo*, continue it *Andante*, follow it *grave*, *ma non troppo*, close in *Fuga*, give over *Allegro*, and retreat *Presto*, and sometimes *Prestissimo*.

When I return to Peking, I will bring thee a complete set of this fatal symphony, which may not improperly be called the concert of the dead.

I have mentioned this in a former letter, about my morning's walk in St. James's Park, where King George's guards parade ; and this music puts the soldiers into such a merry cue, that they go to their posts dancing.

L E T.

LETTER LXI.

*The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi,
at London.*

Madrid.

I Was lately at a very diverting sight, which the Spanish nation highly delight in, and, if I mistake not, peculiar to them. This is what is called, at Madrid, a bull-feast, men fighting against those beasts. A large space of ground is inclosed with seats; and this bull-fight is attended with more ceremony than a declaration of war against France or England, or any other formidable power.

The royal family are present in all the splendour of regality, and the grandees and nobility have seats appointed for their several ranks.

The first beast, whose death is to begin the diversion, cannot be killed without an order from the king, which is signified by a motion of his hand, and then his throat is cut.

The butchers who kill the bulls at this spectacle are cavaliers of distinction. The plunging a pointed piece of iron into many of these beasts is accounted an act of heroism; yet so little bravery is there in it, that the most faint-hearted Chinese, who was used to this sport, would make as good a hero as any of them.

They practise this butchery a long time before hand, never offering themselves as candidates for the glory of slaughtering bulls, till they are sure of acquitting themselves with distinction. On the piercing of a bull, the air rings with repeated shouts, as if from the death of that animal some eminent benefit accrued to the nation.

Many learned men have with laborious application endeavoured to find out, whether these fights were introduced by the Moors, or the Romans; but, for my part, I think it scarce worth while; and the origin
of.

of such a barbarous custom may as well lie hidden as be known.

LETTER LXII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Peking.

London.

AN event of ancient times has been the wonder of the universe. Two men, one called Alexander, the other Cæsar, conquered the world : this was what posterity could not conceive ; but the present war has cleared up the mystery. Two petty princes, with dominions not larger than two middling provinces of China, keep all the powers of Europe in awe. If such revolutions are seen in an age, when so many second causes concur to oppose any augmentation of domain, what must it have been at a time when the spirit of despotism was in its original vigour ! The present transactions in the Christian world may serve to interpret all the dreams of antiquity : people begin to believe that every thing has been possible.

This discovery has thrown Europe into a panic, as two or three enterprising sovereigns may over-run this part of the world. In my survey of the state of things among the Christian powers, there appears to me a fault in the modern system : a barrier is wanting in the general republic, against particular invasions. Christian powers, at their congresses for concluding a war, lay down schemes for restraining any ambitious pursuits : it would be much better to concert measures for preventing them.

A martial prince comes into the world in a corner of Europe ; a thirst of rule betrays itself in his early years : he meditates disturbances at an age when others scarce know any thing of desires. War takes up all his thoughts : he disciplines his troops himself, trains them up by a new plan of his own, and exercises them with mock battles, till he has the pleasure of trying them in earnest. His whole government in-

ferably

sensibly becomes military, and instead of citizens every subject is made a soldier.

At this juncture it happens some puissant monarchs, with large dominions, have no turn for war : the very thought of it frightens them, as presenting to their fancy, toils, hardships, and dangers, dreadful things to their softness and luxury. These mighty sovereigns have troops in abundance, but no soldiers : now what a great advantage has such a prince over these !

Again, a small monarchical republic becomes powerful, completes its navy, and turns all its thoughts to trade and maritime superiority. Its senate consists of persons who understand the nation's interest, and are continually busied about it. Its numerous ports are full of mariners ; the sea is covered with its ships ; its flag commands respect in all parts ; the universal commerce is under its controul ; its funds of wealth are infinite.

Whilst this republic is thus increasing a force which in some measure gives law to Europe, other states, with the like, and even with greater advantages, take a road quite opposite to that which leads to naval power : their attention wastes itself on other objects. The state swarms with artificers, instead of abounding with sailors ; and the consequence of this is an increase of luxury : softness and indolence spread, till the infection becomes general. Europe, in the mean time, is without any counterpoise to the force of these two powers, which, one as mistress of the sea, and the other of the continent, rule the Christian world.

The politicians of Europe are at a gaze ; they cannot express their astonishment at the present transactions ; but this revolution has a very natural cause. Now such is the history of the Greeks and Romans : this is a key which decyphers the lives of Alexander and Cæsar.

Numerous as foundations are in the Christian world, one is still wanting : I mean a society of twenty political geometricians, who should be continually measuring the degree of strength in each particular state, and report

report it to the universal republic, that by curtailing the power of one, and adding to that of another, Europe might every where be duly ballasted.

LETTER LXIII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

INFORM me, said the Baronet lately to me, how it is that such a particular subordination is observed in all Chinese families ; for, according to travellers, there is a most admirable harmony and dependence in every house. As for us, continued he, with all our laws and regulations, domestic matters are growing worse and worse.

I readily believe it, answered I ; for you do nothing to mend them : all your institutions relate to the national family, without minding the lesser. We Chinese have a collection of household maxims, which are transmitted from generation to generation. The masters of families, having them by heart, take care that they be duly observed by their dependents. These maxims being but few, the observance of them is the easier ; and that they are sufficient is manifest from the order and harmony, which the practice of them has kept up in our families for so many ages, without any other instructions.

“ Domestic Maxims for the Regulation of Chinese Families.

“ The youth of the two sexes are never to be together.

“ A sister-in-law is not to converse with her brother-in-law.

“ When a girl goes a visiting to a relatione, she is not to sit at the same table as her brothers.

“ A son is not to punish the servants or slaves of the house. On their committing a fault he is to

“ acquaint

“ acquaint his father of it, as to him only belongs the power of correction.

“ The daughters likewise are not to chastise the maids, or even concubines, for any indecent behaviour or talk ; that is the head of the family's province.

“ If the master be too harsh, the domestics will serve him with reluctance ; there is but one way to win their affection, and, at the same time, make one's self respected by them ; which is, to temper austerity with mildness.

“ Of all family duties the most essential is education : when young folks enter on learning, their memories should not be burthened with long precepts about the method of living in the world ; only put into their hands the best books on that subject : the first thing to be taught them, is modesty ; the second, a decent plainness in dress ; and the third, frugality at their table.

“ Allow them no manner of intercourse with boys who have been badly educated, and are inclined to evil courses.

“ When their memory comes to ripen, be careful to instruct them gradually in the several duties of society ; and that your lessons may make the better impression, be sure to use plain and familiar comparisons.

“ If the women are seldom together, families will be the more quiet, and agree better : what is said in their apartment must not go any further.

“ The girls should be educated quite differently from boys : let these closely study the works of the ancients and moderns, to qualify themselves for public stations : the great article in a girl's education is, to ground her in an uniform practice of chastity, modesty, obedience, cleanliness, diligence, frugality, &c. The best compliments which can be paid to a young woman, is to say, that she is not learned.

“ When

"When a boy reaches the thirteenth year, he is no longer to be admitted into the women's apartment : in like manner, a girl at that age is not to be seen in that of the men."

LETTER LXIV.

The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, at London.

Madrid.

SPAIN has no laws against idleness: every one is at liberty to have nothing to do; and is a member of the commonwealth, without being of any trade or calling.

The government gives itself no manner of concern about the people's being employed. A man may have been dead to his country forty years before he is buried.

Indolence, far from being held disgraceful, is a qualification for titular distinction. He who can prove an uninterrupted hereditary idleness in his family for six hundred years past, is in an a fair way of being invested with all the honours of nobility; and this lazy pedigree is more esteemed than one which has produced statesmen, judges, and land and sea commanders.

Should a person, tired of being idle, go into any business, or apply himself to some occupation, he would extremely lessen his character: the Europeans have an express word for exposing such abasement; they call it *degenerating*; and few people at Madrid care to make themselves despicable.

There is no gaining the public esteem here, but by being good for nothing. Diligence and application are so little esteemed, that indolence must necessarily encrease. The only emulation is to be without any; and the religion, politics, and custom, all perfectly agree in this lethargic system.

The king of Spain has three hundred thousand subjects shut up in convents, pursuant to a vow they have made of spending their lives in inactivity: fifty thousand
he

he has, whose only business is to lay a musket on the ground, take it up again, and lay it on their shoulders: it is farther computed, that there are, in this kingdom, twenty thousand idle masters, and these keep forty thousand servants to attend on their idleness.

No sooner does a Spaniard come to be possessed of a hundred ounces of silver *per annum*, than he leaves off business, and betakes himself to the felicity of being idle all the day long.

From this general indolence springs an universal sloth, and the consequence of this is the public indigence. It was a very wise saying of one of our emperors, That if there was one idle man of the empire, some of his subjects must suffer either hunger or thirst.

Christian moralists are strangely puzzled to find out the cause of those many vices, so flagrant in Europe, and so few of which are scarce to be seen among the Asiatics: the cause of both is plain; it is that the Europeans are allowed to be idle, and the Asiatics obliged to work.

The depravation of manners cannot rise to any great height among a people, who are laborious by the very constitution of the state: where every one has his appointed business, vice finds no admittance; whereas, in a nation left to idleness, corruption leaks in on every side.

LETTER LXV.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Superintendent of Religion at Pekin.

London.

THOUGH the Christian religion essentially consists only of these few articles, *creation, annunciation, conception, nativity, death and resurrection*, there are several here of so ungrateful a memory as not to have the least remembrance of them; and others,

to save themselves the trouble of keeping such things in their heads, do not believe a word of them.

The latter religion, which lies in having none, is very much in vogue here: indeed it is easy to be a believer of this sect; for it requires no manner of penetration, its whole and sole act of faith being only this single word *nothing*.

The Italians, a southern people of Europe, who make a mock of the most sacred rites and mysteries of religion, call a man in this way of thinking, *disingannato*, or *undeceived*.

It is not among the commonalty that this sect had its origin; they are always of a religion which contains something: it came from the great, and was fomented at courts, where every thing, even to the Deity himself, is turned into ridicule. The belief of a Providence is left to children and old women; but people of fashion get over such vulgar prejudices.

If a person of quality is so precise as to practice any of the external observances of religion, his equals never fail to ridicule him. 'I believe, God forgive me,' said an English lord lately to another whom he observed to go frequently to church, that thou really believest there is a God.

Neither in France or England, is there a well-bred man, or a man of any fashion, who imagines there is a Supreme Being. The very representatives of religion have none: several popes, though styling themselves Christ's successors, are charged with infidelity: as to the inferior mandarins, whatever their belief may be, they live as if there was no God; which is tantamount.

The wits, the scholars, the men of letters, are of the nihilitarian religion. If a writer eminently distinguishes himself, and becomes the admiration of Europe, it is ten to one whether he believes any thing of a God. the noble faculty of the understanding, which exalts man to a proximity to the Deity, through a fatality peculiar to the Europeans, debases him beneath the brutes. When a mortal has spent his life among the most abstract sciences, and pervaded the several abysses

of

of knowledge, he may be concluded to have attained such a sublime degree of perfection, as to believe in nothing. Thinkest thou, dear Kie-tou-na, that it is worth while being so learned only in order to be ignorant of every thing?

LETTER LXVI.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Pekin.

London.

MARRIAGES are made up at London the same way as at Pekin: some go-betweens talk over the affair: the first conferences turn on the presents to be given by the suitor to his future bride, and on what the spouse is to bring to her husband, which they call portion. This being settled and faith plighted on both sides by proxies, the bridegroom and bride have an interview: this is soon followed by a ceremony, which ties them together for life. Care is taken of every thing beforehand, one particular only excepted; I mean, whether the parties will like one another: this indeed is a trifle, beneath minding; as it is not what they marry for, it is not thought of.

It would be a troublesome task to bring an English young gentlewoman to think that marriage requires sentiments and delicacy, and that no union can last without complacency and inclination. It is impossible such a thing should be; first, because love is free, and a priest enjoying a young woman to love her husband, implies constraint: but this constraint is soon shaken off, and the first thing a young woman does, after a formal marriage, is to look out for a second husband of another kind; for the first marriage is only a foretaste of the subsequent.

In the latter engagement there is no need of go-betweens; the parties see one another, talk together, and exchange endearments: besides, there is this great advantage, that this engagement lasts only whilst the parties

parties agree, whereas the former remains in force when the causes which gave birth to it are quite extinct.

LETTER LXVII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THERE is in all the states of Europe, as it were, a general ballance, which maintains the equilibrium, and preserves it from being ingrossed by one prince or two. Those governments which could do much, are withheld by moral causes.

France can raise five hundred thousand fighting men; but then the hardships of war do not agree with the French. Germany and Italy, being the two theatres of European revolutions, are two graves where that nation is continually burying itself.

The French monarchy cannot maintain such prodigious swarms of soldiers without doing itself as much hurt as its enemies. Such is the situation of the universal republic, that none of its members can grasp at a large power, without ruining that which he possesses; and to this barrier Europe hitherto owes its preservation. Many a monarch has paid for his attempts to break through it, and been disappointed of his aim.

The immense number of ecclesiastics in Europe, diminishing the general population, spreads an universal debility through the political bodies. The encouragement given to trade retards the impetus of this great machine; and a crowd of callings supported by luxury, enervates the different nations. The greater states are at present full of artificers and work-men; and to make soldiers of these, would be destroying that industry, which, even by enriching a nation, brings a fatal weakness on it.

In all countries the nobility and gentry furnish only officers; for the soldiery, there are housekeepers and husbandmen, on whom the burthen of war ever falls:
and

and this very resource hinders a nation from having any soldiers ; for the consequence of husbandmen being forced into the army, is a scarcity of corn ; hence the country must be starved, or those useful men return to their former occupation.

Europe has not a prince who is able to carry on a war with his usual revenue ; so that the people must be loaded with taxes upon taxes ; this brings on disorders, and such deficiencies in the finances, that sovereigns are very often obliged to conclude a peace at the very height of their successes. On surveying the several branches of power in every Christian government, it will be found that there are second causes which hinder them from emerging out of their present state of mediocrity.

These, dear Kie-tou-na, are reasons taken from the nature of things ; but European policy is not aware of them, being tenacious of its old errors, and never recurring to the first general principles. This it is which constitutes the safety of Europe, and is a better security to it than all its treaties, negotiations, and continual series of plans of peace and war.

I may add, that particular causes shall sometimes hinder the effect of the more general : perhaps it is the power to which England is lately risen, that upholds the ballance ; and if she supports the equilibrium in Europe, it may be owing to her continual endeavours to crush a large neighbouring body. The question is Whether her private ambition may not carry her beyond the limits of the general policy.

LETTER LXVIII.

The same, to the same, at Peking.

London.

THE kings of Europe do not all lounge away their time in their palaces : some may be said to lead a very laborious life ; for instance, they who are continually hunting ; for this is a very toilsome diversion.

Some

Some days ago a copy of a modern anecdote was given me, which is to be inserted in the universal history of the Christian princes; for the European annalists are sure to omit nothing that may immortalise the memory of their sovereigns: the subject of this piece is to transmit to latest posterity the signal feats of four great monarchs now reigning.

A Hunting Anecdote, inscribed to Posterity.

In the year of our Lord 1763, four mighty European potentates rode two thousand leagues of ground in pursuit of game.

They killed a hundred hunters, and sprained the backs of fifty life-guards, their attendants.

The same sovereigns, within the space of the same year, spent a thousand quintals of powder, two thousand balls, and split two hundred fuzil-barrels.

Extraordinary Atchievements.

These monarchs killed ten thousand partridges, four thousand pheasants, eight thousand snipes, and twenty thousand quails.

Complete Victories obtained over Furred Beasts.

They defeated fifty wild boars, five hundred foxes, ten thousand rabbits, and thirty thousand hares.

Pitched Battles against Horned Beasts.

They killed five hundred stags, two thousand deer, and four thousand hinds, &c. &c.

As the chase bears some resemblance to war, thou wilt perhaps be led to imagine that these monarchs, being such keen sportsmen, must be great warriors: very far from any such thing; for, amidst all their sieges and battles, they are never present in person: they carry on their wars by their generals; and if their parks

had afforded no game, they would never have known the use of the fuzil.

LETTER LXIX.

*The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi,
at London.*

Madrid.

THE discovery of the new world has much-impaired the old: a distemper, then unknown, was brought over, and made a breach on nature, in the very source of life and pleasure. It was a thirst of gold which occasioned it; crowds of Spaniards kept continually flocking to America, and returned with fresh infections.

At present Europe may be compared to a vast infirmary, full of patients. In China, love indeed is sometimes productive of sorrow and remorse; but here it is almost ever followed by pain and disease. The commerce of women destroys both morals and health; so that continence is become a necessary virtue; and pleasure must be avoided under pain of death. This is Europe's present dilemma; it must give over peopling itself, or remain distempered.

As to the pretended remedy, it is still worse than the disease: if the application of it stops the effects of that distemper, it brings on many others; so that nature is rather detrimented than advantaged by it: besides, allowing it that efficacy which physicians attribute to it, Europe would be never the better; for, however mercury may purify on one hand, corruption insinuates itself on the other. In short, nothing can cure this great diseased body, but severing it from itself, and hindering men from any intercourse with women.

This distemper, thanks to the established separation of the two sexes, has scarce got to any head in Asia, or we should have radically cured it, like any other disease: where religion prohibits a communication
between

between the two sexes, the people have many advantages.

Every rank, in every nation of Europe, is infected with this distemper, because they universally debauch themselves with women.

Armies of weak-bodied men soon sink under the hardships of a campaign ; and this may be one of the reasons of Europe's having, for these two hundred years, been continually at war. Its policy takes fire at its very miscarriages : councils are perpetually shifting, and their resolutions hurt the people ; for ailing princes are naturally uneasy, and seek relief in disturbances, when it is only to be had in morality.

Spain may be said to be eaten up with this disease ; the soundest parts of its population are infected ; not marriage, nor even virginity, are sure preservatives against its malignity. An unhappy climate indeed, where virtue itself produces the like effects as vice !

LETTER LXX.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na, at Pekin.

London.

LAST week, the Baronet carried me to an English widow's, of his acquaintance, where we found a very grave maid, and a very merry wife. The former sat with a melancholy air, and not a word came from her ; the latter, besides a countenance all flushed with joy, was full of talk.

At the sight of this contrast, my guide drawing near to me, whispered, Have you a mind to see a shift of scenes ? and, without giving me time to answer, added, Now for a theatrical motion. Then he talked to the unmarried lady, of a man who might some time or other be her husband, and to the married lady, of a man who was her husband ; and, behold, instantaneously was the machinery changed ; the maid became sprightly and jocular, and the wife dull and silent.

The English girls, on the mention of marriage, are all alive; and the wives, when talked to of their husbands, fall a yawning.

Marriage, here, is like some perspectives, which, at a distance, seem pleasing to the eye, but, on a near approach, are found coarse, and full of blemishes: the ceremony once over, down falls the splendid front of Hymen, leaving only the bare shell.

The cause of this is, there is no such thing as virtue in Europe. The most sacred engagement is entered into, only as leading to a desired gratification, which is followed by disgust.

In China, our meaning in marriage is, to live continually with our wives; but here, they take wives to have nothing to say to them afterwards. Among the Europeans, marriage seems to be one perpetual divorcement.

The Baronet will have it, that this separation is necessary, and that without it there would be less union: he demonstrates geometrically, that man and wife would shun each other more, did they shun each other less.

This is another proof, that there is a dissonance in the manners of the two sexes in Europe; that both their virtues and vices are incompatible; in short, that the qualities of men and women are as different as east from west.

LETTER LXXI.

The Same, to the Same, at Peking.

London.

THE beggars in France are at their wits end how to excite compassion, Christians having, long since, left off giving alms for God's sake: but the English poor have still many pleas; some ask charity to be idle, others to be free from the cares of following any business; one begs for tobacco, another to buy himself some small beer.

Another

Another advantage they have over the French beggars is, their being allowed to tell people why they tease them.

The other day, as I was walking along the streets, one asked me a penny, to burn the Pope: as I never would encourage guilt, I shook my head by way of denial, for I look upon it as a very great crime, to give money to a man to put another to death: however, this kind of charity, implying the bitterest enmity to the head of the Roman church, is a very good fund to the London beggars, as no good English protestant will refuse his penny towards an act of such humanity.

It is nothing unusual to introduce politics in their beggary, asking somewhat to drink to the prosperity of such a party; and if the beggar can but know the principles of him whom he asks, his business is done: For they who have this talent, may afford to get drunk twice a week; whereas they who ask alms only for God's sake, may think themselves well off if they can make beasts of themselves once a month.

LETTER LXXII.

The Same, to the Same, at Pekin.

London.

THERE is a mighty question in France and England, which is never brought to an issue; whether the stage in general does not do more harm than good. Opinions are extremely divided: the *literati*, who are sticklers for the fine arts, have written whole libraries in proof of its utility; and the ecclesiastical mandarins, who are the overseers of the national manners, have written as many to demonstrate the contrary.

The latter are personally concerned to censure what they prohibit; they may as well keep the doors of their pagodas shut at the play-house hours, for no-body minds the tolling of their bells. The former say that the stage promotes virtue, and leads to heaven; and

the latter affirm it to be a nursery of vice, plunging those, who frequent it, into hell. Now which is to be believed? For my part, I am apt to think that the former may be in the right, and the latter not quite mistaken.

That the theatre may be instrumental to virtue, is not absolutely impossible: it is, as it were, a looking-glass of human life; but care should be taken that it be true and even, that mankind may not appear quite mis-shapen and distorted. They who espouse the dramatical religion, will have it to be a kind of moral sermon; but that cannot be, for in no religion is a good sermon to be made from a bad text.

Love, that blind impetuous passion, which minds neither laws nor customs, is the basis of its morality. A dramatic performance, in which this should be reduced to precepts, in order to regulate the motions of the heart, would be like a sermon offending against the rules of the drama.

All that the mortality of the stage can do for virtue, is to sacrifice victims to it, when on the point of perpetrating a crime; and this very thing shews its inability to prevent, and the faint opposition to vice. The hero's strength serves only to illustrate his fall: if he overcomes one weakness, it is from the sway of another: he either yields to love, or gives himself up to despair: he is either soft, or rash.

Another infectious source in the stage, is the channel through which this morality is conveyed. Men vicious by profession exhort the public to turn from their vices; they recommend a perfection which they themselves have no feeling of, and declaim on duties which they do not practise. In a word, it is infamy itself, in person, preaching up morality. Known prostitutes, who openly trade in debauchery, exhort to continence; yet, were such conversions to take place, where would all their gains be? Had their fine speeches any effect, they must betake themselves to hard labour for a subsistence: their business is quite the reverse, it is to promote corruption: the rigid chastity, which they
boast

boast of, lasts no longer than the play; when the curtain falls, they return to their usual behaviour.

One of the chief causes of the little progress made by virtue on the stage, is the place itself. The performance may be calculated for a reformation of manners; but people go to the play only to debauch themselves. It is the public rendezvous of vice, where virtue is exposed to the greater dangers, as the two sexes meet there purely from vicious motives.

To make the stage beneficial, the theatre should be quite demolished, and built on another plan. It is not so much the spring itself, as the conduits, which stand in need of being cleansed. Care should be taken, that all the outlets of the theatre, leading to virtue, should not be in the least corrupted, and that debauchery be no longer the way to chastity. After all, it is to be apprehended that this long-winded labour would prove of little service: for as the Europeans abuse the doctrine of their religion, and offend the Deity even in his very temples; much more will they abuse the morality of the stage; much more will they profane the sanctuary of the theatre.

LETTER LXXIII.

The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Superintendent of Religion at Pekin.

London.

CHRISTIANS say, that God became man, and died a painful death on a cross, to make them better: if so, he may be said to have died to little purpose, their doctors of morality themselves owning that wickedness is at a greater height now than it was before the coming of Christ. At least, it is certain that idolaters were strangers to half the vices; for which the professors of the Messiah's religion are notorious.

A natural depravity has overspread all Christendom. Lying, evil speaking, slander, theft, murder, drunken-

ness;

ness, rancour, revenge, treachery, &c. &c. are common vices among the believers of the Gospel. It is otherwise with the Turks, Indians, and Japanese: those people have, in all things, a natural candour, no spark of which is to be seen among Christians.

Were two religions put to my option, the professors of one exemplarily virtuous, and the others immersed in debauchery and wickedness, I would declare for the former, whatever proofs could be given for the truth of the other.

It is said that none but a religion of such sanctity could support itself amidst the present flagitiousness and corruption; but may it not be this very corruption which keeps the Christians from any inclination to change their belief? for I own it is very convenient living in a religion, which, though it condemns vice, tolerates those who profess it.

LETTER LXXIV.

*The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na,
at Peking.*

London.

IF we consider matters rightly, the European monarchs, dear Kie-tou-na, seem to me ignorant of their own interests: they would acquire glory, yet make it their study to do every thing which tends to bring their subjects into servitude; two things diametrically opposite: it is like practising vice to grow virtuous.

Every European court has two projects, one to debase the nation, and the other to aggrandise it: these two plans they pursue with like eagerness; they are ever intent on the former, and never lose sight of the latter. These two points of view are so complicated, that I dare say, an European king would go without glory rather than owe it to the freedom of his subjects, and would lay aside all endeavours after greatness rather than attain it by their glory. But herein they
are

are inconsistent: subjects may be considered as the chief instruments of heroism; they are both its cause and effect. It is the people who constitute strength and power; princes are only the machine to put them in motion. Now this strength and power are a never-failing consequence of political liberty.

I have read the history of most European nations, and, on comparing the ages of their greatness, I find that they have been cowardly or courageous, that is, weak or powerful; as they have been more or less slaves. How should these princes be great, whilst they themselves vitiate the source of their greatness? They are for ingrafting their strength on weakness and infamy.

The world is astonished, that amidst the present revolutions of Europe, a monarchy, with such means of gaining victories, meets with nothing but miscarriages and defeats; but they do not consider that there is a first cause, which is the increase of despotism: now this is continually weakening the nation. What signifies sending numerous armies into the field, without previously making them soldiers? This is the key to France's weakness; the first cause of this strange revolution: not that this nation is not intrinsically brave; that has ever been its character; but the principles of its heroism are corrupted. Let but its despotism be curtailed, that is, remove the cause of its weakness; and it will soon recover its former splendour.

LETTER LXXV.

*The Mandarin Sin-ho-ei, to the Mandarin Cham-pi-pi,
at London.*

Madrid.

THE other day I was carried to a lady's who keeps a gaming-table: this at present is a calling in Spain, as well as in France. Companies meet every day at her house, whose chief talent is, to handle cards: and a very advantageous one it is to the lady,

for she constantly makes at least a hundred thousand rials a year of it, living very magnificently, and appearing every where with as much confidence as if mistress of an honourable independency.

She indeed carries on her trade with some decency: her servant places wax lights and cards on the tables, for which he is paid, and his mistress takes the profit to herself. This may be called living on the passions of others, and levying a revenue from vice. This scandalous profession is here limited to the nobility; only women of rank are allowed to entertain bad company, and make a gaming-house of their mansions. Most of the widows of quality, who are inclined to preserve what virtue they have, keep gaming-tables.

Whoever has no skill in play, or would not cheat, has no business in these assemblies. They who come here, must either cheat or be cheated; there is no other alternative. On my being presented to the lady of the house, I was desired to play; but I gave for excuse, that being a foreigner, I did not understand the European games. This answer raised a sour look in the lady, and she plainly appeared vexed that any one should come to her house, to excuse themselves from doing what all others come there purposely to do. My Spanish guide not having the same plea, and, unluckily for his purse, being no Chinese, played and lost his money; which, in these houses, is generally one and the same thing.

In the mean time, observing the mistress's behaviour, I perceived she minded only one thing, which was the placing companies round the tables. No sooner was one party ended than she endeavoured immediately to make another, and never seemed quite easy but when all were busy. Thou canst not think that a hundred thousand rials a year is worth the contempt with which women of so bad a profession are treated. But here it is answered, that one must live. True; but not by infamy.

LETTER LXXVI.

*The Mandarin Cham-pi-pi, to the Mandarin Kie-tou-na,
at Peking.*

London:—

THERE is no continent on the earth where such a noise is made about liberty as in Europe; and it is the part of the world where there is the least of it. Every state has its particular constitution, which comprehends the privileges of the people; but these are now mere phantoms of rights, utterly insignificant.

I really believe the societies formed from the ruins of the Roman empire to have been so constituted; that the people should not be mere slaves; and the usurpers themselves did not mean to establish an absolute despotism: but in process of time an event fell out, which put an end to the freedom of the community, and on it is founded the general history of the slavery of Europe.

The Christian kings, who, long after the extinction of the Roman empire, had lived among their subjects without any armed attendants, desired a body-guard, under pretence that some disaffected persons were carrying on dangerous designs against them. Soon after they demanded to keep large bodies of troops in pay: artillery being likewise necessary, arsenals were built every where, and well stored with offensive and defensive weapons. Thus furnished, did they commence their despotic scheme. Till then they had used to speak to their people with some regard, and even timidity; but their arguments being now seconded by great guns, they expressed themselves in another tone.

There are at present three princes in Europe, whose joint forces make up no less than a million. Now thinkest thou that with this prodigious multitude of soldiers the people of these three countries can be very free?

free? These armies, it is said, protect the people against foreign servitude; but they impose a domestic slavery.

The commencement of military power proved the period of the civil constitution; all administration of justice ceased, and the tribunals found themselves over-matched by the force of the sovereign.

It is not the depravation of manners, the slackness of the laws, the corruption of the people, nor luxury, nor indulgence, nor ease, nor riches, which have destroyed European liberty; it is the sovereigns keeping large bodies of regular troops in their pay. These are the chief instruments of the general despotism, being always ready to obey the sovereign's order; and the more violent and tyrannical it is, the more eager are they in the execution of it.

END OF VOL. V.